

**THE CONCEPT OF ATTACHMENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP
TO THE EXTENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY**

By

LESLEY LUCAS NUNN

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Lesley Lucas Nunn

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This research investigated potential influences leading to juvenile delinquency. The theoretical foundation for this research was based upon a combination of Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory and John Bowlby's Attachment Theory. Both theories contend that attachment to others is a motivating factor or influence upon behaviors and attitudes. Attachment, for this study, was viewed as the conduit through which individuals internalize morals and attitudes and value judgments. Attachment was also defined as the mechanism which acts to modify one's behavior.

The research sample consisted of 97 juvenile delinquents involved with the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. Each participant completed the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment and a demographic questionnaire. The Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment yielded several scales of data consisting of an overall attachment score, an alienation score, a communication score, and a trust score. Each of those scales were reported for both parent and peer interactions. Data

also collected included information provided by the Department of Juvenile Justice about the number of criminal charges each participant had levied against them.

Correlational statistical analysis was utilized to assess the relationships between overall attachment, alienation, trust and communication (as defined by the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment) and the extent of juvenile delinquency (as defined by the number of criminal charges for each participant). In this research effort, none of the defined relationships between the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment and the extent of juvenile delinquency were shown to be statistically significant.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

To be left alone on the tightrope of youthful unknowing is to experience the excruciating beauty of full freedom and the threat of eternal indecision. Few, if any, survive their teens. Most surrender to the vague but murderous pressure of adult conformity. It becomes easier to die and avoid conflicts than to maintain a constant battle with the superior force of maturity. (Angelou, 1969, p. 231)

This excerpt exemplifies the trauma, turmoil, and challenge of adolescence. We have all been through it. We all have fond as well as not so fond memories of "youthful unknowing" and the "murderous pressure of adult conformity" (Angelou, 1969). The boundaries of adolescence have been defined as essentially moving from immaturity to maturity (Rice, 1978; Steinberg, 1989). Today's adolescents in the United States are constantly faced with everyday situations of great complexity and challenge, which carry with them the risk of higher stakes than any previous generation has had to face.

The dilemmas to which children are introduced include teenage pregnancy, alcohol and drug use, sexual harassment, sexually transmitted diseases and delinquent behavior (Rice, 1978; Sandmaier, 1996; Steinberg, 1989). Children are being forced at younger and younger ages to make decisions as to whether they will partake in such criminal activities. Many adolescents today seriously consider whether or not to carry a weapon for protection. The mass media carry stories weekly of youngsters bringing guns or other weapons onto school property. Whereas the high schools of yesteryear were concerned with

chewing gum and gym equipment, today's high schools provide metal detectors and/or school police officers to ensure the physical safety of their students.

School police officers are employed by law enforcement agencies and their jurisdiction is the school to which they are assigned. They are physically on campus during school hours to help maintain law and order. These officers carry guns, dress in full uniform, and act as any street officer would: They break up fights; They search lockers; They make arrests; In effect, they police the high school and middle school community.

The need for school police officers is an outcome of the increase in juvenile delinquent activities. Between the years of 1950 and 1980 , "there were steady increases in juvenile arrests for virtually all classes of misbehavior" (Steinberg, 1989. p. 413). Steinberg (1989) suggests that the number of crimes committed by juveniles may be even higher because some crimes go unreported to authorities and sometimes the perpetrator is simply not caught (Atwater, 1983). Self-report surveys reveal that, ". . . a very large proportion of adolescents - between 60 and 80 percent, depending on the survey sample - have engaged in delinquent behavior at one time or another" (Steinberg, 1989, p. 413).

In the state of Florida, the estimated Florida population aged 10 to 17 increased by 11% over a five year period, from 1,201,503 to 1,336,183; the number of youths referred to the Department of Juvenile Justice for delinquency rose 32% within that same time frame, partly due to increase in less serious offenses being reported. For example, burglary remains to be the top felony charge among juveniles while

shoplifting is the top misdemeanor charge among juvenile offenders (Bureau of Data and Research Department of Juvenile Justice, 1996).

Some of the more alarming statistics tabulated by the Department of Juvenile Justice in Florida concern the more violent crimes committed by juveniles; such as robbery, felony sex offenses, aggravated assault and battery. Aggravated assault and battery was deemed the most serious referral reason for 6,315 youths which constitutes a 50% increase since 1990-1991, while misdemeanor assault charges increased by 68% in that same time period (Bureau of Data and Research Department of Juvenile Justice, 1996).

Not only has the number of juvenile offenses being recorded been increasing but also the extent of the crimes committed has been on the rise (Horrocks, 1976; Rice, 1984; Steinberg, 1985). The choices with which today's adolescents are confronted may serendipitously result in highly self-destructive behaviors for them. The increase in juvenile crime, sexual activity, teenage pregnancy, school truancy, alcohol and drug abuse and suicide attempts place teenagers in perilous and difficult decision making circumstances.

There has been a recent outcry concerning juvenile delinquency and the types of crimes committed by juveniles. The reaction by the agencies developed to address these issues has been to emphasize incarceration and punishment rather than addressing the root of the problem or the context of the problem.

There has been a growing trend among researchers to investigate the role of the family in relation to juvenile delinquency (Browning, 1960; Johnstone, 1980; Laub & Sampson, 1988; Rankin & Wells, 1990; Rosen,

1985) because of the historical function of the family in terms of teaching appropriate behaviors and moderating juvenile behavior (Laub & Sampson, 1988; Wilson, 1980). "Our society traditionally has assigned major credit for the successful socialization of the young to parents, and has pointed the causal finger of blame at parents when youngsters get into trouble" (Johnstone, 1980, p. 83).

Current clinical counseling treatment of juvenile delinquency must attend to the context in which these children have been raised and also the processes through which these children decide to commit delinquent acts. Juvenile delinquency can be traced back to the impact (or lack of impact) important individuals played during childhood, possibly even infancy. The persistence and perseverance of patterns and effects of relationships established during infancy and early childhood need systematic study to determine their contribution to our understanding of juvenile delinquency.

Overview

It would be incredibly naive to attempt to argue that there is but one sole source or cause of juvenile delinquency. "The etiology of social behaviors is complex, and multiple causes can often lead to the same behavioral outcome (delinquency)" (Rankin & Wells, 1990, p. 140). There is agreement among researchers that to attempt to pinpoint the cause of delinquency is impossible (Johnstone, 1980; Rosen, 1985). Conger (1976) points out that there are "several models of deviant behavior which exist . . . the important task is to sort through them at this point" (p. 17).

Johnstone (1980) reports that the literature investigating family ties to delinquency is both voluminous and inconclusive. In perusing the available literature one can "discover positions ranging from the view that the family is the single most important determinant of delinquent behavior to the view that although some empirical association may exist, there is no basis on which to posit any direct causal connection between the two" (Johnstone, 1980, p. 83).

Historically, the issue of juvenile delinquency has fallen under the auspices of criminology and sociology so that there has been little interest in studying the possible connections between family and delinquency particularly the relation between quality of relationships within a family and delinquency. There has been a "belief (among criminologists) that family variables are not nearly as important as peer, school, and various structural factors in understanding delinquent behavior patterns" (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987, p. 295).

Those who investigate delinquency specifically may "... see criminal and delinquent behavior as resulting, in large part, from breakdowns of normal functioning of family life" (Browning, 1960, p. 37). Rosen (1985) further delineates family life by making the distinction between family structure and family functioning: The structural perspective as delineated by Rosen (1985) considers the more physical aspects of a household considering such factors as birth order, number of individuals within a household, parental absence, and intact versus broken homes (DeRosier & Kupersmidt, 1991; Johnson, 1986); The functional perspective takes into consideration the parent-child interaction, amount of discipline, and degree of marital happiness. Nye

(1958) in his discussion concerning the causes of delinquency specifically states the importance of addressing the nature of the relationships of family members and their interactional patterns.

Riege (1972) hypothesized that delinquents, as compared to non-delinquents, experience the following in family relationships:

- (1) an inadequate affectional response from one or both parents;
- (2) inadequate psychological communication with one or both parents;
- (3) an inadequate sense of security and protectedness . . . ;
- (5) inadequate capacity for identification with one or both parents as sources of leadership and authority due to lax or erratic disciplinary practices. (p. 55)

Rosen (1985) has also postulated that a family dynamic which may be in play in delinquency is the quality of parental attachment. The overall consensus among researchers would appear to be that investigating the quality of familial relationships and how it relates to delinquency is a neglected facet of the research realm (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Hirschi, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 1988; Rosen, 1985).

Theoretical Framework

Historically, in the field of criminology there have been two schools of thought: the positivist versus the classicists. The study of delinquency and the underlying philosophies of causes of delinquency are based upon either a classicist or a positivist viewpoint. "Positivists accepted the scientific idea that human behavior is determined, while the classicists believed in choice or freedom of the will" (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1987, p. 9). The rift between these two schools was further outlined in the mid 1960's when the "belief in determinism (positivist) was considered to be

old-fashioned, . . . the classical view, according to which the actor is free to choose one course of action rather than another" (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1987, p. 9).

To say that human behavior is determined is to assume that there is some shaping as to how humans learn to behave. It is from this premise that control theories are based. As Gottfredson and Hirschi (1987) postulate, "most of us fail to violate the law much of the time because we fear losing the respect of those we care about. . . . [i]f there were no love to be lost, there could be no fear of losing it" (p. 13). The threat of disconnection from those we are bonded to is an underlying tenet of control theory which prevents most from committing crimes.

Recent efforts have been made to attempt to combine schools of thought in developing arguments explaining criminology. As Cohen and Land (1987) point out, control theories with their emphasis on internally oriented controls and opportunity theories with their emphasis on externally oriented controls is a logical pairing. In referring to control theories, Cohen and Land (1987) explicitly state that "a person's bonds to family, community, school, or job . . . are the source of personal costs of criminal behavior" (p. 45).

Hirschi's Social Control Theory

As already mentioned, a common question posed in the examination of juvenile delinquency is whether or not the delinquency is a response to external forces or internal forces. There are typically at least two arenas of thought: Is delinquent behavior moderated by external controls or internal controls? Are individuals forced to commit

delinquent acts or are they kept from committing delinquent acts?

Succinctly stated, "is delinquency caused or prevented?" (Nye, 1973, p. 3).

Hirschi (1969) posed that dilemma as follows: instead of asking why people commit delinquent acts, ask the question, "why don't they commit them?". What keeps people from being deviant? This question led to Hirschi's Social Control Theory (1969) which emphasized the role that attachment and non-attachment play in explaining delinquency. "Adolescents obey the rules of society because their bonds to society are strong" (Seydlitz, 1993, p. 245). And the bond to society is determined by early attachment to available attachment figures. In the opinion of this researcher the variable of attachment has thus far been neglected in delinquency research.

Hirschi (1969) postulated that through attachment an individual becomes sensitive to the opinions of others and develops the capacity for taking the perspective of the other. Hirschi compares the psychopathic personality to a non-psychopathic personality in that "the characteristics attributed to the psychopath (such as isolation; lack of remorse; lack of empathy) are a result of his lack of attachment to others" (p. 17). He asserts that "a lack of attachment to others is not merely a symptom of psychopathy, it is psychopathy; lack of conscience is just another way of saying the same thing; and the violation of norms is (or may be) a consequence" (p. 18) of that lack.

Hirschi (1969) credits Durkheim with the statement "we are moral beings to the extent that we are social beings" (p. 18). Through

attachment persons develop conscientiousness concerning others' opinions. "If a person does not care about the wishes and expectations of other people - that is, if he/[she] is insensitive to the opinion of others - then he/[she] is to that extent not bound by the norms. He/[she] is free to deviate" (Hirschi, 1969, p. 18).

The association between attachment and deviancy or delinquent behavior according to Hirschi's Control theory (1969) is hypothesized as follows: as attachment lessens then the probability of deviance or delinquent behavior increases (Hirschi, 1969; Marcos, Bahr, & Johnson, 1986); Sampson & Laub, 1993; Wells & Rankin, 1988). "[W]hen the social ties (that is, attachment, commitment) that bind an individual to key societal institutions (such as family, school, work) are loosened, the risk of crime and delinquency is heightened" (Sampson & Laub, 1993, p. 93).

Canter (1982) states, "[B]onds represent controls against deviance . . . the stronger an individual's bonds to conventional society, the greater his or her insulation from delinquent behavior" (p. 151). It may be argued that the first societal attachment is to the family. Families may be considered to be microcosms of the larger societies in which they are embedded. Cultures, geographic regions, cities, neighborhoods as well as families all have their own personalities oftentimes making each setting its own quite distinct society with their own idiosyncrasies (Wilson, 1980). Families may be considered to be the initial socializing institution for individuals (Laub & Sampson, 1988).

If the family acts as an initial socializing agent for individuals within this society, then the degree of attachment of adolescent to parent could be an important clue in predicting delinquency. Cohen and Land (1987)

conclude that "research focusing on barriers to crime and delinquency constantly indicates that there is a significant relationship between attachments to conventional others, values, and institutions, . . ." (p. 46).

Hirschi (1969) argues:

The more strongly a child is attached to his parents, the more strongly he is bound to their expectations, and therefore the more strongly he is bound to conformity with the legal norms of the larger system. (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987, p. 299)

Bowlby's Ethological-Evolutionary Attachment Theory

An additional theoretical lens through which to examine the issue of juvenile delinquency is provided by Bowlby's ethological-evolutionary attachment theory (1969). Attachment theory was developed in reaction to psychoanalytic theories of object relations (Bretherton, 1985).

"Attachment may be a useful construct for conceptualizing many disorders" (Paterson & Moran, 1988, p. 611), including juvenile delinquency.

Attachment theory's basic premise is that attachment is fostered between an infant and an attachment figure. Attachment is defined as "the affectional bond or tie that an infant forms between himself/[herself] and his/[her] mother figure" (Kreppner, 1987, p. 228). It is through this attachment that the infant gets feedback about itself and its environment. As the infant learns that its attachment figure is safe, dependable, and secure the infant is then free to roam and explore its surroundings. It is through infants' wanderings that they learn about themselves as well as what is around them. The attachment figure is considered to be a secure base (Ainsworth, 1979). Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1985) would deem the role of the secure base as a launching pad for exploration to be vital.

Through connection with their attachment figure infants learn that they are valued and valuable. They accrue a degree of self-concept and self-worth through interactions with their attachment figure. Infants and toddlers develop a concept as to what is right and what is wrong as well as develop "internal working models" (Bretherton, 1985, p. 3) of their attachment figures which are then integrated into the personality structure.

The bulk of the research utilizing attachment theory has focused primarily on infancy and the attachment patterns that infants co-create with their mother-figures (Ainsworth, 1979, 1982, 1989, 1985; Bowlby, 1969, 1988). To date, less attention has been paid to how those patterns perpetuate themselves into adolescence and adulthood. More specifically, not only has the longevity of attachment patterns established in infancy been overlooked, the ramifications of attachment patterns into adolescence and adulthood has been overlooked as well.

In summary, attachment theory (Bowlby, 1985) focuses upon the patterns of attachment and relationships in infancy, and social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) focuses upon the behavioral effects of attachment in adolescence particularly in reference to deviant behavior. A synthesis of Bowlby's attachment theory (1969) and Hirschi's social control (1969) theory highlights the significance of attachment and suggests that non-attachment is a potent predictor of juvenile delinquency.

Need for the Study

The study of delinquency has developed into an academic field unto itself (Atwater, 1983; Steinberg, 1989; Rice, 1978). Although, there exists a plethora of research in terms of attachment theory with infants, an

unfortunate gap exists in the attachment research extending beyond infancy (Ainsworth, 1982, 1989; Bowlby, 1969; Conger, 1976).

According to Bowlby (1969) "[A]lthough the growth of attachment behavior during the first year of life is reasonably well chronicled, the course it takes during subsequent years is not" (p. 204).

Gove and Crutchfield (1982) point out the necessity of studying delinquency in the context of the family. Salzman (1990) has hypothesized that "connection to parents may remain critical to the adolescent's emergent sense of self" (p. 111). It is argued that sociological variables such as "lack of parental supervision, parental rejection, and parent-child involvement" (Sampson & Laub, 1993, p. 93) are important to address when studying delinquency. It has also been concluded that those variables "are among the most powerful predictors of juvenile conduct problems and delinquency" (Sampson & Laub, 1993, p. 93). Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Zelli and Huesman (1996) concluded in their study addressing violence among adolescents that, "the emotional closeness experienced within the family, as evidenced by good support, organization, and communication, may be critical to effect change in behavior" (p. 126).

Yet, more research is needed which addresses the relation between delinquency and family ties (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Zelli & Huesman, 1996; Kreppner, 1987; Kuperminc & Reppucci, 1996; Paterson & Moran, 1988), particularly the quality of attachment between adolescents and their parents. Salzman (1990) asserts the importance of the "persistence of family attachments

throughout adolescence" (p. 110); however the nature and the quality of the patterns of attachment have yet to be discerned (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987).

Another aspect highlighted in the literature is the importance of attachment and connection within the therapeutic setting as Hardy (1996) asserts:

Therapy with teenagers has to be about creating, and then holding a connection . . . the focus of therapy is on strengthening or reconnecting the teenager's bonds to his or her family, school and community. It is when teenagers lose their connection to these sources of support that they are most at risk. . . . The cut-off kids become the ones who are capable of staring you in the eye and pulling the trigger with absolutely no remorse, and even some inner thrill. (p. 55)

This would indicate that beyond adolescent-parent attachment, one's therapeutic posture is also particularly significant when working with this population. In this case the emphasis may be on the therapist's use of self in fostering attachment; the use of distance between therapist and client; and the therapist's use of mutuality and personal involvement as essential ingredients in effective therapy with adolescents.

Scott Henggeler (1996) provides a strong summary regarding treatment strategies for juvenile offenders. He concludes that, "as long as funding is disproportionately allocated to out-of-home placements in comparison with intensive family- and community-based services the dissemination of the latter will be restricted, irrespective of outcomes" (p. 139).

Statement of the Problem

Based upon the cited literature which seems to indicate that there are current gaps in the research addressing the relationship between attachment and delinquency, there are three problems to be addressed in this study:

1. The relationship between the degree of attachment between court-referred adolescents and their parents, and the extent of juvenile delinquency as demonstrated by the number of charges against them is unknown.
2. The relationship between the degree of attachment between court-referred adolescents and their peers, and the extent of juvenile delinquency as demonstrated by the number of charges against them is unknown.
3. The relationship between the overall degree of attachment and extent of delinquency as demonstrated by the number of charges against them is unknown.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study will be to determine (a) the relationship between the degree of attachment court-referred adolescents have with their parents and juvenile delinquent behavior as demonstrated by the number of charges against the court-referred adolescents, (b) the relationship of the degree of attachment court-referred adolescents have with their peers and juvenile delinquent behavior as demonstrated by the number of charges against the court-referred adolescents, and (c) the relationship between the degree of overall attachment and the extent of

juvenile delinquent behavior as demonstrated by the number of charges against the court-referred delinquent.

The purpose of this study will be to examine adolescent perceptions of attachment (whether that be attachment to peers or parents) in order to evaluate the relation between attachment and delinquent behavior and to investigate the relationship between perceived attachment (whether that be attachment to peers or parents) and the level of extent of delinquent behavior. Particularly, this study will measure the relationship between attachment and the extent of juvenile delinquency.

These findings have potential ramifications for social services programs geared toward the juvenile delinquent populations in that they may justify social policy considerations that give funding priority to prevention rather than punishment. They may also provide justification for differential treatment selection and the fostering of strong attachments between service providers and their clients.

Research Questions

The following research questions were examined in this study:

1. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' overall attachment to parents (as measured by the adolescent's perception of attachment) and extent of juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent) ?
2. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' overall attachment to peers (as measured by the adolescent's perception

of attachment) and juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent) ?

3. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' degree of trust with their parents (as measured by the adolescent's perception of trust) and extent of juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent)?

4. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' degree of trust with their peers (as measured by the adolescent's perception of trust) and extent of juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent)?

5. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' degree of communication with their parents (as measured by the adolescent's perception of communication) and extent of juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent)?

6. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' degree of communication with their peers (as measured by the adolescent's perception of communication) and extent of juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent)?

7. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' degree of alienation from their parents (as measured by the adolescent's perception of alienation) and extent of juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent)?

8. What is the relationship between court-referred adolescents' degree of alienation from their peers (as measured by the adolescent's perception of alienation) and extent of juvenile delinquency (as demonstrated by number of charges against the court-referred adolescent)?

Definition of Terms

Adolescence refers to the time period between childhood and adulthood. For this study adolescent refers to individuals between the ages of 14 and 18.

Attachment is an enduring affectional bond or tie of substantial intensity (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987).

Attachment behavior is any type of behavior which moderates the proximity between an individual and their attachment figure. Bowlby (1969) describes attachment behavior as any behavior which increases, decreases or maintains physical proximity to an attachment figure. The function of attachment behavior is initially one of safety.

Attachment figure for the purposes of this study is a primary person (a parental figure or parental substitute) in the adolescent's life to whom they have felt a connection or bond and a person the adolescent feels has most influenced them. This is a person who has shown stability and dependability for the adolescent. For the purpose of this study, the attachment figure will be considered to be a parental figure as operationally defined as an individual who is of an older generation of at least 10 years older than the study subject. This person may be a parent, a grandparent, a non-parent or possibly even an older sibling provided that the older sibling is of a separate and older generation.

Attachment theory has been developed in reaction to psychoanalytic object relations theory and it utilizes an ethological and evolutionary focus. The main premise in this theory is that attachment serves a vital function for human beings in that through attachment individuals internalize values, social beliefs, and they learn their personal value (Bowlby, 1969).

Delinquency refers to charges of illegal acts. Those charges can include but are not limited to battery, assault, assault and battery, petit theft, trespassing, grand theft, armed robbery, burglary, and breaking and entering.

Delinquent adolescents for this study are adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 years old who have been charged with a minimum of one illegal offense and have been referred by the court to the agency which has collected the data.

The process of internalization refers to how an individual through the pathway of attachment to an attachment figure takes in the beliefs and ideals of that attachment figure.

A secure base is the:

base from which a child or an adolescent can make sorties into the outside world and to which he can return knowing for sure that he will be welcomed when he gets there, nourished physically and emotionally, comforted if distressed, reassured if frightened. In essence this role is one of being available, ready to respond when called upon to encourage and perhaps assist, but to intervene actively only when clearly necessary. (Bowlby, 1969, p. 11)

Extent of juvenile delinquency for the purposes of this study was the number of illegal charges with which an adolescent had been

charged.

Social control theory as first delineated by Hirschi (1969) attempts to answer the question of why juveniles commit delinquent acts. The focus on criminology from a social control theory perspective is not on why one does commit criminal acts but why one does not routinely commit criminal acts. The focus is upon what keeps individuals from routinely breaking the law. This is in part explained through the concept of attachment within the theoretical perspective of social control theory (Hirschi, 1969).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter II is organized into four major components: (a) discussion of predictors of delinquency, (b) discussion of social control theory, (c) discussion of attachment theory, and (d) discussion of career model of criminality.

The concept of juvenile delinquency is anchored in legal terms that have been articulated over centuries of development of Anglo-American law. But explanations of delinquent behavior are in the terms and perspectives of such disciplines as sociology, psychology, and psychiatry. The array of behaviors to be explained thus show vast multiplicity and complexity from those perspectives and the resulting theories are of course markedly divergent. (Binder, 1987, p. 28)

Predictors of Delinquency

In the study of juvenile delinquency what has emerged is an attempt to specify and delineate the types of control used with adolescents. The distinction is made between direct and indirect control. Direct control pertains to discipline techniques. For example, according to Nye (1958) direct controls are externally oriented to the adolescent and imposed by restriction and punishment. Indirect controls are more nebulously defined in that they are considered to be related to affectional ties and internalization of morals and beliefs (Hirschi, 1969; Rankin, 1983; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Seydlitz, 1993).

Hoffman (1984) aptly describes what could be construed as the early development of a juvenile delinquent:

If, however, the mother-infant relationship is characterized by ambivalence, anxiety, hostility, or rejection from the mother, then the psychological separation may not be so smooth and the internalization of the mother image may be incomplete. Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) explain that when the dependency needs of the young child remain unmet and internalization of the parental image is impaired, the individual may be left with inner yearnings to be loved that may then be covered over by feelings of anger, resentment, rejection, and even guilt. (p. 171)

The key words in that passage are anger, resentment and rejection which are often the feelings expressed by adolescents who are labeled delinquent through either behavior and/or as issues in therapy.

There is mounting evidence that juvenile delinquency is impacted by socialization variables. Families are viewed as the first arena for such socialization. As Snyder and Patterson (1987) depict, "[T]he data consistently suggest that parenting practices and family interaction are associated with the development of antisocial and delinquent behavior. . . The impact of family and parenting variables on the frequency of delinquent behavior is relatively clear" (p. 97).

Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) take an even more specific aim at juvenile delinquency. According to them, "socialization variables, such as a lack of parental supervision, parental rejection, and parent-child involvement, are among the most powerful predictors of juvenile conduct problems and delinquency (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986, p. 29). In response to the Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) review, Sampson and Laub (1993) write that what stands out as impressive in regards to making the connection between family and

delinquency is "the general consistency of findings across a wide range of studies" (p. 93).

The vast majority of the research concerning juvenile delinquency has historically been embedded in the field of sociology. As Binder (1987) reports, "[W]ithin the United States, the domination of the field by sociology is so great that it is not much of an exaggeration to state that the field of scientific study of delinquency is a subdiscipline of sociology" (p. 3). What is being recognized more clearly among researchers of juvenile delinquency is that there is a greater and greater need to address this issue from a family perspective (Hirschi, 1986; Laub & Sampson, 1988; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Warr, 1993)

As Warr (1993) indicates, "[I]t is difficult to believe, after all, that adolescents leave the influence of their friends entirely behind when they enter the front door at home or that parental influence extends no farther than the mailbox" (p. 247). If the argument is that adolescents somehow internalize their parents' beliefs and parents' social guidelines then the question becomes how does this process take place? As Nye (1973) illustrates the focus of study can be the assumption that "delinquent behavior occurs in the absence of controls or if controls are ineffective" (p. 3). In other words, "What keeps people from committing delinquent acts?" (p. 3).

Social Control Theory

Hirschi's recent theoretical formulations have centered around the main theme of control. It is proposed that there are two types of control which act to inhibit individuals from committing crimes. One form of control is externally oriented, for example, punishment such as

incarceration. The other form of control is internally motivated or is considered self-control. Hirschi stipulates that the influence of self-control should not be neglected when studying criminality. In addressing the persistence of the effects of self control in monitoring behavior Hirschi and Gottfredson (1994) claim that, "[I]t is not hard to find examples of people who continue to 'conform' during very long periods in which their behavior is not observed by other people or subject to the sanctions of the criminal law. In our view, self control is resistant to extinction because its ultimate sources are natural sources . . ." (p. 4).

The underlying tenet supporting the concept of Hirschi and Gottfredson's self control is the internal angst one may feel when contemplating committing a criminal act. This angst is a result of the anticipated repercussions one may feel from a particular attachment figure if one were to commit the criminal act. Accordingly, from a control theory perspective this angst results from the lack of connection or attachment to significant figure(s). As Hirschi and Gottfredson (1994) assert, it is those:

differences in self-control produced early in life by family child-rearing practices. . . . such differences are relatively stable over the life course, and that once established, self-control is highly resistant to change. Those lacking in self-control are not oriented toward status, success, income or culture. They are likely to pursue short-term gratification in a direct way without concern for long-term consequences such as the disapproval of family or friends. (p. 256)

It is these ties of self-control established in early familial attachment

relationships which initially bind and then serve to maintain one's integrity [attachment] to a larger society.

Travis Hirschi's original writings concerning the Theory of Social Control (1969) more explicitly discuss the tenet of attachment and how he postulates that it relates to delinquency. According to Hirschi (1969) "a person is free to commit delinquent acts because his ties to the conventional order have somehow been broken" (Hirschi, 1969, p. 3). In social control theory, "[D]eviance is taken for granted; conformity must be explained" (p. 10).

The twist then becomes instead of explaining why people don't obey the rules and laws of society, the explaining must come in the realm of why people obey the rules and laws of society (Downes & Rock, 1988; Hirschi, 1969). The basic assumption of social control theory is that "humans are inherently antisocial and naturally capable of committing criminal acts. With deviance assumed to be natural, it is conformity that requires explanation" (Hirschi, 1969; Marcos, Bahr & Johnson, 1986, p. 137). According to Wiatrowski, Griswold and Roberts (1981) social control theory "rests on the Hobbesian assumption that human behavior is not inherently conforming, 'but that we are all animals and thus naturally capable of committing criminal acts' (Hirschi, 1969, p. 31).

A basic contention underlying social control theory is that conformity is maintained through the establishment of bonds or attachments (Conger, 1976, 1980; Hirschi, 1969; Marcos, Bahr, & Johnson, 1986; Seydlitz, 1993; Simons, Whitbreck, Conger, & Conger, 1991; Warr, 1993; Wiatrowski, Griswold & Roberts, 1981; Rankin &

Wells, 1990; Wells & Rankin, 1988). "Attachment refers to affective ties toward parents, school, and friends" (Marcos et al., 1986, p. 135).

The rationale from the social control theory perspective is that delinquency occurs if these bonds are weak (Canter, 1982; Gove & Crutchfield, 1982; Patterson & Dishion, 1985). Hirschi (1969) in his discussion of social control theory cites Durkheim, "[T]he more weakened the groups to which [the individual] belongs, the less he depends on them, the more he consequently depends only on himself and recognizes no other rules of conduct than what are founded on his private interests" (p. 16). This definition may be the basic components to an antisocial personality typology.

Seydlitz (1993) succinctly draws a composite of what makes up the bond to society as defined by the social control theory, "attachment (the affection a person feels for other, particularly parents, teachers and peers), commitment to conventional activities, involvement in conventional endeavors, and belief in the conventional rules" (p. 245). What Hirschi (1969) presents is that attachment is the vehicle through which individuals develop a sensitivity to others. Attachment to others also serves as the conduit through which one "internalizes norms, conscience, or superego" (Hirschi, 1969, p. 18). Hirschi (1969) also stipulates that, "control theorists are, to be sure, in agreement on one point (the point which makes them control theorists): delinquency is not caused by beliefs that require delinquency but is rather made possible by the absence of (effective) beliefs that forbid delinquency" (p. 198).

"Control theory assumes that the bond of affection for conventional persons is a major deterrent to crime. The stronger this bond, the more

likely the person is to take it into account when and if he contemplates committing a criminal act" (Hirschi, 1969, p. 82). Theory would then suggest that upon taking that bond or attachment figure into consideration the individual would then decide against committing the act so as not to break that attachment. As Simons et al. (1991) maintain "children naturally tend to engage in deviant behavior unless social control mechanisms are present that inhibit its occurrence. Thus delinquency occurs because of weak bonds to conventional norms and groups and the resulting absence of constraints on deviant behavior" (p. 646).

Where social control theory may seem to be remiss is in explaining the apparent connection between antisocial parents and their antisocial children. The common sense question posed is if children do not deviate because they are connected or bonded to their conforming parent, then how does a nonconforming or antisocial parent effect the relationship between connection and nonconforming children. The proposed dilemma may be that a child is very connected or attached to their nonconforming parent and therefore that child is nonconforming simply to follow in that parent's footsteps.

There has been a focus in the research of delinquency which has reportedly linked antisocial parents to having antisocial children (Farrington, 1987; Loeber, 1982; Patterson, DeBaryshe, and Ramsey, 1989). According to Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey (1989) "having an antisocial parent places the child at significant risk for antisocial behavior; having two antisocial parents puts the child at even higher risk" (p. 332). They also proclaim that "concordance across three generations

has also been documented" (p. 332). In the same article those authors draw the connection between antisocial and poor parenting skills. "Our set of findings show that antisocial parents are at significant risk for ineffective discipline practices. Ineffective discipline is significantly related to risk of having an antisocial child" (p. 332). This begs the question, is it being antisocial or having poor parenting skills which may lead one's child to becoming delinquent.

Through the social control theory lens it is the fact of being an antisocial person, that parents themselves may have very few attachments or bonds. Therefore the dynamic taking place between parent and child is not that the parents are teaching their children to be antisocial but instead are simply perpetuating the cycle of unattachment which social control theory proclaims is a core predictor in juvenile delinquency. It could be argued that it is not that antisocial activity breeds further antisocial activity but that antisocial activity breeds lack of connection and attachment which could lead to antisocial activity but not necessarily.

Farrington (1987) summarizes several different studies (for example, Craig & Glick, 1968; McCord, 1977; Robins, 1979 and West & Farrington, 1973) which describe criminality among family members. According to that summary, convicted children tend to have convicted parents and which presume that the parental criminality is what caused or lead to the child's criminality. What is neglected in the above listed studies is the explanation of the dynamic which occurs within those families. All that is stipulated is that "arrested parents tend to have

arrested children and that the juvenile records of the parents and children showed similar rates and types of offenses" (Farrington, 1987, p. 33).

What is not delineated in those studies cited by Farrington (1987) and listed above is a description of what the parent/child relationship was before, during or even after arrest. Without an examination of what constituted that relationship it is simply presumed that the child is following the footsteps of his/her parent because they admired or looked up to or were attached to that parent. If that parent is arrested and taken out of the home early in the child's life then that parent will not be an available target to which that child can connect. Arrest may, therefore, simply act to remove a potential attachment figure for that child. The arrest itself may not be problematic, but the removal of the attachment figure may be what is problematic. That is an aspect which has not been addressed in the studies of family criminality.

Farrington (1987) also concludes that "convicted parents and delinquent siblings predicted frequent offenders out of the whole sample but that only delinquent siblings significantly predicted frequent offenders out of all offenders" (p. 34). This factor may lend credence to the theory that it is not the attachment to the parent which leads a child to delinquency but an attachment to a peer member which leads a child in that direction.

In the studies conducted exploring the connection between convicted parents and convicted children, the conviction rate has not been the only factor isolated in the research. The issue of criminality of parents and their children seems to routinely be embedded along with

other issues such as poor parenting practices; poor discipline; low socioeconomic status; or low intelligence of the parents (Patterson, DeBaryshe & Ramsey, 1989). Farrington (1987) concludes that:

[T]he most important precursors of frequent offending were: (1) early troublesome, antisocial, and aggressive behavior; (2) poor parental child-rearing behavior and poor parental supervision; (3) criminal parents and siblings (4) measures of social deprivation such as low family income, large family size, and poor housing; and (5) low intelligence and attainment.

As postulated by Rankin and Wells (1990):

Different versions of control theory provide the principal framework that emphasizes the importance of family ties or attachments. . . . The premise is that juveniles who are not strongly attached to their parents are also insensitive to their parents' opinions. Thus, juveniles with weak attachments are not bound by their parents' norms, and are not as likely to take their (conventional) feelings and opinions into account when contemplating the commission of a delinquent act. (p. 142)

Connection between social control theory's concept of attachment and attachment theory's concept of attachment

Control theorists sometimes suggest that attachment to any object outside one's self, whether it be the home town, the starry heavens, or the family dog, promotes moral behavior. Although it seems obvious that some objects are more important than others and that the important objects must be identified if the elements of the bond are to produce the consequences suggested by the theory, a priori rankings of the objects of attachment have proved peculiarly unsatisfactory. (Hirschi, 1969, p. 30)

What may help substantiate the connection between attachment and delinquency is to bolster the definition of attachment through the lens of another theory. "Delinquency research inquiring into the expressive

relationships between parents and children was greatly influenced by Bowlby's well known study 'Maternal Care and Mental Health' (1952)" (Giesmer & Wood, 1986, p. 20).

Attachment Theory

"It is an essential part of the ground plan of the human species - as well as that of many other species - for an infant to become attached to a mother figure" (Ainsworth, 1979, p. 932).

"She didn't care so why should I?"

an 18 year old female
counseling client when asked about her
mother

What seems to be lacking in terms of explaining delinquency through social control theory's use of attachment is a definition of what exactly constitutes attachment. The contribution of attachment theory to the study of delinquency is a more definitive definition of attachment as well as a closer examination of the effects of early parenting styles on later development of adolescents. As Papini and Roggman (1992) write, [F]rom an attachment perspective, the emotional quality of the relationship between parents and adolescents provides a supportive framework from which the child can master the challenges associated with developmental transitions" (p. 421).

John Bowlby (1988) defines the main components of attachment theory as:

(a) the primary status and biological function of intimate emotional bonds between individuals, the making and maintaining of which are postulated to be controlled by a cybernetic system situated within the central nervous system, utilizing working models of self and attachment figure in relationship with each other.

(b) the powerful influence on a child's development of the ways he is treated by his parents, especially his mother-figure . . . (p. 120)

Marris (1982) places a great deal of emphasis on the idea of bonds. According to him, "[W]e expect to center our lives on some crucial bond, about which other ties of affection to specific people and places ramify and to which other relationships are instrumental" (p. 194).

Attachment as defined by attachment theory is "a bond developed with some other differentiated and preferred individual, who is usually conceived as stronger and/or wiser" (Paterson & Moran, 1988, p. 613). The function of this attachment for infants as Bowlby (1988) argued is to maintain a physical proximity to the attachment figure in order to be protected. "The biological function of this behaviour [sic] is postulated to be protection, especially protection from predators" (Bowlby, 1988, p. 3). Also, as delineated by Ainsworth (1989) "attachment behavior is believed to have evolved through a process of natural selection because it yielded a survival advantage, in this case through increasing the chances of an infant being protected by those to whom he or she keeps proximity (p. 709).

Ainsworth (1985) writes that ". . . the most important elements in social networks and social support systems alike are relationships that constitute affectional bonds, and particularly those with attachment components that provide a sense of security" (p. 810). As Rich (1990) writes, "[T]he relationship between mother and daughter is typically the child's primary attachment. Adolescence is an especially informative

time to look at this relationship" (p. 258). If such an attachment exists then it is displayed through attachment behaviors, according to attachment theory.

Attachment behaviors are those which maintain physical proximity to the attachment figure. For example, an infant crying, smiling, babbling, and reaching their arms out toward the attachment figure would constitute attachment behaviors. It then becomes the attachment figure's primary task to act as a secure base for that infant. It could be reasonably argued that those adolescents partaking in delinquent behaviors have not experienced the affectional bonds to which Ainsworth refers.

As Bowlby (1988) states, the purpose of the secure base is to act as a:

base from which a child or an adolescent can make sorties into the outside world and to which he can return knowing for sure that he will be welcomed when he gets there, nourished physically and emotionally, comforted if distressed, reassured if frightened. In essence this role is one of being available, ready to respond when called upon to encourage and perhaps assist, but to intervene actively only when clearly necessary. (p. 11)

Also according to Bowlby (1988):

those [children] who are most stable emotionally and making the most of their opportunities are those who have parents who, whilst always encouraging their children's autonomy, are nonetheless available and responsive when called upon. Unfortunately, of course, the reverse is also true. (p. 12)

As Bretherton (1989) writes it is the confidence in the attachment figure which the child possesses that is important in the attainment of the secure base. "Confidence in the mother's physical and psychological availability appears to lay the groundwork for autonomous exploration

and problem solving, coupled with the expectation that help will be forthcoming when needed" (Bretherton, 1989, p. 21).

Through attachment theory the secure base is a central feature which directly addresses the parental role in terms of how the connection between the two factions is parlayed. The utilization of the secure base is maintained by attachment behaviors elicited by the infant. The attachment bond itself is the bridge which connects the secure base to the child. As the child ages attachment behavior continues to be exhibited and the secure base is still needed. Although it has been recognized that attachment behavior wanes but remains existent as the child gets older (Bowlby, 1969) what remains to be an intriguing question is the process of how early attachment behavior manifest itself in later years.

As Cooper, Grotevant, and Condon (1983) conclude in their study examining family and delinquency;

the leaving process is facilitated by individuated family relationships, characterized by separateness, which gives the adolescent permission to develop his or her own point of view, in the context of connectedness, which provides a secure base from which the adolescent can explore worlds outside the family. (p. 56)

In addition, Paterson and Moran (1988) comment that a "child should not be subjected to threats of withdrawal of love or caring, or threats to abandon the family" (p. 615) or else the ensuing insecure attachments will prove problematic.

Bowlby (1988) as well as Hazan and Shaver (1987) declare that attachment behavior is a characteristic of human nature throughout our lives - from the cradle to the grave. "It has been held that early maternal

or paternal deprivation (or both) is damaging to the delinquent child's character in a way that renders him less capable of forming affectional ties than are his non-delinquent peers" (Riege, 1972, p. 56).

Bowlby (1969) makes it abundantly clear that attachment behaviors take different forms as individuals age. He clearly indicates that "during adolescence a child's attachment to his parents grows weaker" (Bowlby, 1969, p. 207). However, as the child ages, "[T]he waning of attachment behavior does not, however, imply the waning of the attachment system" (Bretherton, 1985, p. 12).

In his discussion of a child's attachment to his mother Bowlby (1969) recognizes that depending upon the individual circumstances there is the potential for great variation in how attachment behaviors are exhibited during adolescence and into adulthood. Bowlby (1969) writes, "[A]t one extreme are adolescents who cut themselves off from parents; at the other are those who remain intensely attached and are unable or unwilling to direct their attachment behaviour [sic] to others;" (p. 207).

It has been theorized by a number of researchers that those patterns of attachment developed in infancy persist throughout a lifetime (Ainsworth, 1979, 1985; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980, 1985a, 1988; Bretherton, 1985; Cotterell, 1992; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Kreppner, 1987; Ricks, 1985; Waters & Deane, 1985). Bowlby (1988) clearly delineates that the "working models of self and attachment figure(s) that are built in the mind during childhood are held to be central features of personality functioning throughout life." (p. 123).

A basic rationale among attachment theorists is that the patterns established in infancy become cyclical or self-perpetuating. According to

Bowlby (1988) “. . . studies show that each pattern of attachment, once developed, tends to persist. One reason for this is that the way a parent treats a child, whether for better or for worse, tends to continue unchanged. Another is that each pattern tends to be self-perpetuating” (p. 126). And, as Sroufe (1985) indicates the patterns learned in infancy increasingly become a characteristic of the child themselves. In other words, the pattern which is learned in infancy perpetuates itself in future years. Cotterell (1992) concisely states, “these emotional bonds endure across time and space, and are of critical importance to an individual's psychological well-being at any age” (p. 30).

As Bowlby (1969) outlines;

. . . whether satisfying or unsatisfying to the partners, whatever interactional pattern a couple has worked out during the first year tends to persist, . . . This is in part because each member expects the other to behave in a certain way and each, as a rule, cannot avoid eliciting in the other whatever behaviour [sic] is expected, if only because that behaviour is the customary response of the other. Expectations tend, therefore, to be confirmed. (p. 347)

As stated, it has been theorized that attachment patterns persist into adulthood. As Bowlby (1969) comments, “[F]or most individuals the bond to parents continues into adult life and affects behaviour [sic] in countless ways” (p. 207). Bowlby (1980) reasons that if attachment patterns did not endure into adulthood then grieving the loss of a parental figure when one is an adult would not have the effect it does on those who were attached to their parents.

Further evidence to the interest in how patterns persist has been addressed in the study conducted by Hazan and Shaver (1987) they

conceptualize adult romantic love in terms of attachment theory and attachment behaviors. They conclude that patterns of attachment established in early life are recreated with romantic partners in later life. For example, if one had an anxious avoidant attachment pattern in infancy one will work to recreate that same pattern with a significant other in later life.

There also exists a budding field of research in the arena of adolescence and attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Blain, Thompson, & Whiffen, 1993; Cotterell, 1992; Greenberg, Siegel, & Leitch, 1983; Lyddon, Bradford, & Nelson, 1993; Papini & Roggmann, 1991). However the vast majority of research utilizing attachment theory has been conducted with infants and particularly infant-mother dyads. There is a void in research exploring the changes over time which attachment can take (Bowlby, 1969). In 1985 Bretherton writes, "there have been very few non laboratory observations of attachment behavior during the last 10 years. Reports on attachment behavior outside the 12-18 month range have also been few and far between" (p. 42). Bowlby's early writings beginning in 1969 examined infants and young children with their mothers as did Mary Ainsworth's (1969) early studies describing the strange situation scenarios.

Ainsworth (1979) delineated attachment patterns in response to the strange situation. The strange situation as defined by Ainsworth (1979) is "a standardized laboratory situation that was devised to supplement a naturalistic, longitudinal investigation of the development of infant-mother attachment in the first year of life" (p. 932). As a result of

Ainsworth's work using the strange situation three main categories of attachment were elucidated.

The attachment behaviors exhibited by these infants were described as anxious avoidant, securely attached, and anxious resistant. As outlined by Mahoney (1991) an anxious avoidant attachment pattern is one "in which the infant shows conspicuous avoidance of and inattention to the mother when she returns . . . if picked up by the mother, the infant does not cling and usually avoids eye contact or interaction" (p. 169). The securely attached pattern is described as a pattern "in which the infant immediately seeks contact with the mother and maintains proximity to her, . . . the infant is capable of being comforted, however, and clings securely if picked up; . . . he or she is likely to become rapidly reorganized and display an interest in play" (Mahoney, 1991, p. 169). And, the anxious resistant pattern is one:

in which the infant displays anger and ambivalence at the mother's return, alternating between seeking and resisting contact; if picked up, he or she soon wants to be released; when released he or she soon signals a desire to be picked up; the infant is not readily comforted. (Mahoney, 1991, p. 169)

As Sroufe (1984) has expressed, "[T]he avoidant infant has already learned to guard against strong affect, expresses affect indirectly, and avoids contact when it is most needed" (p. 119). This potentially could describe an individual who shuns attachment as they progress through life. An adolescent who has learned early in life that they can not trust in others (particularly parental figures) around them tend to become loners or feel as if they do not belong to anything hence, feel unattached.

It may be these adolescents who then become more prone to committing delinquent acts because there is no perception of attachment for those adolescents.

Attachment theory in relation to delinquency

The following description could very well depict the bricks which build the walls behind which a juvenile delinquent lives.

He may have been told repeatedly how unlovable, and/or how inadequate, and/or how incompetent he is. Were he to have had these experiences they would result in his developing a model of himself as unlovable and unwanted, and a model of attachment figures as likely to be unavailable, or rejecting, or punitive. Whenever such a person suffers adversity, therefore, so far from expecting others to be helpful he expects them to be hostile and rejecting. (Bowlby, 1980, p. 247)

In essence, if there exists no one to whom they can turn they turn inwardly.

Bowlby (1969) also stipulates that if "at twelve months they still show no sign of attachment to any particular person then that absence of attachment is especially noticeable when they are distressed: even then they rarely turn to an adult" (p. 297). As Cotterell (1992) concludes "... disturbed and delinquent groups were less close to their parents, trusted them less, and relied less on them for help" (p. 29). In support of Cotterell's (1992) comment, Greenberg and Speltz (1987) conclude that it is their "belief that preschoolers who have developed cognitive-affective models of insecure attachment relationships are more likely to show behavioral problems than children with secure models of attachment" (p. 206).

It has been suggested time and again in the literature that the context in which attachment should be researched is the family context (Bell & Bell, 1983; Hirschi, 1969; Kreppner, 1987; Laub & Sampson, 1988; Poole & Regoli, 1979; Simons, et al., 1991; Snyder & Patterson, 1987; Warr, 1993; Wiatrowski, et al., 1981). Simons, et al. (1991) state "evidence from recent studies indicates that weak bonds to conventional others, e.g., parents, will allow, but not necessarily foster, delinquency" (p. 646). This presumption is substantiated by Sampson and Laub (1993) ". . . weak emotional ties between parent and child were found to generate the highest probability of delinquency" (p. 99). Rankin and Wells (1990) and Wells and Rankin (1988) conclude that "the major impact of the family is through other [indirect] forms of control - principally, attachments" (p. 143).

According to Johnson (1986) one of the areas of concern in relation to the study of delinquency is that the "typical conclusion is that the quality of the parent-child relationship (often termed the strength of the parent-child attachment), rather than the intactness of the family, matters most in determining the actual behavior of the child" (p. 65). It has also been indicated by researchers that "attachment to parents and school has been found to be consistently negatively related to delinquency" (Conger, 1976, p. 20).

As Hirschi (1969) indicates, "If the bond to the parent is weakened, the probability of delinquent behavior increases; if this bond is strengthened, the probability of delinquent behavior declines. Attachment may easily be seen as variable over persons and over time

for the same person" (p. 88). The question then remaining to be addressed is how does the strength of the attachment to the parents influence delinquency?

As Warr (1993) indicates:

Among adolescents with strong bonds to their parents, the potential loss of parental approval or affection may be sufficient to deter delinquency even when pressure from peers is intense. Similarly, adolescents who are close to their parents may be more likely than others to internalize and act on their parents' moral inhibitions against delinquency, providing an obstacle or barrier to peer influence. The general point is that parents may be 'psychologically present' (to use Hirschi's [1969] term) even when adolescents are in the company of delinquent peers or otherwise under their influence. (p. 249)

Just as social control theory argues that the psychological presence of a parental figure is vital in the decisions a child/adolescent will make, so too does attachment theory. For instance, Ricks (1985) concluded that, "children build representational models of their attachment figures and that these representational models are complementary to the representational model they build of themselves" (p. 212).

Paterson and Moran (1988) describe the process and importance of internalization through the lens of attachment theory as follows:

Attachment may also affect adult functioning in a more significant way. Through repeated transactions with its attachment figures, the infant is said to form internal representations both of the self and of others. These 'internal working models' (Bowlby, 1973) subsequently form a heuristic basis for future relationships. (p.613)

Internalized working models are defined as "mental representations that include affective as well as cognitive components . . .

they are integral components of behavioral systems and play an active role in guidance of behavior" (Main & Kaplan, 1985, p. 76). As Waters and Deane (1985) define an "internal working model is a mental representation of an aspect of the world, others, self, or relationships to others that is of special relevance to the individual" (p.68). It may be postulated that internal working models are the end result of the process of attachment. The stronger the attachment the more greatly these internal working models will be in operation.

Main and Kaplan (1985) depict internalized working models as providing "rules and rule systems for the direction of behavior . . ." (p. 77). Bretherton (1985) illustrates how attachment theory's internalized working models are developed, "[T]hrough continual transactions with the world of persons and objects, the child constructs increasingly complex internal working models of that world and of the significant persons in it, including the self" (p. 11).

It is these internalized models which explain the persistence of attachment patterns (Blain, Thompson, & Whiffen, 1993; Main & Kaplan, 1985). In their study with individuals in their late adolescence, Blain, Thompson and Whiffen (1993) contend that "working models are cognitive structures that enable the individual to understand and anticipate the responsiveness and availability of others" (p. 227). Bowlby (1988) describes internalized working models as being developed during the "first few years of his life and, it is postulated, soon become established as influential cognitive structures . . . these models . . . tend to persist and are so taken for granted that they come to operate at an unconscious level" (p. 129-130).

As Armsden and Greenberg (1987) contend a child "with secure attachment to principal care-givers carries an unconscious assurance that s/he has access to trustworthy, helpful others and views him/herself as worthy of love and caring" (p. 428). It is also through the lens of internalized working models that differences in behavior are explained. According to Greenberg and Speltz (1987) "individual differences in attachment behavior patterns are viewed as manifestations of individual differences in the child's internal working models of specific relationships" (p. 193).

Loeber (1982) in a study researching antisocial behavior among children states that "over a five year period those children whose parents had become less rejecting toward the child showed reductions in the number of antisocial and delinquent behaviors" (p. 1442). Perhaps that reduction is an indication of a closer attachment or bond between parent and child.

As has been presented, attachment as delineated by social control theory is a potentially important dimension for the study of juvenile delinquency. As Hirschi (1969) himself has indicated,

"... the present data indicate that the closer the child's relations with his parents the more he is attached to and identifies with them, the lower his chances of delinquency. It is argued here that the moral significance of this attachment resides directly in the attachment itself" (p. 94).

In terms of attachment theory there is a need for research with populations beyond infancy (Ainsworth, 1989; Bowlby, 1969, 1988; Paterson & Moran, 1988; Waters & Deane, 1989). "Relatively little research has effectively examined the link between the mother-infant

relationship and adult social functioning . . .” (Paterson & Moran, 1988, p. 611). Snyder and Patterson (1987) point out that the “data consistently suggest that parenting practices and family interaction are associated with the development of antisocial and delinquent behavior” (p. 231). Also, Poole and Regoli (1979) comment that “lack of family support is viewed as conducive to delinquency. This weak or broken bond ostensibly minimizes one’s sensitivity to the opinions or expectations of others . . .” (p. 188).

As eloquently stated by Binder (1987):

But where a given theory determines, directly or indirectly, a practical program that involves a great many young (and not so young) lives and an enormous amount of social resources, the facts and factors upon which that theory is based be critical indeed. (p. 4)

Career model of criminality

A highly debated concept in the study of criminality centers around the definitions used to distinguish among criminals. For example, should the focus of research be upon the rate of participation, the types of crimes committed, or an involvement versus noninvolvement distinction? As Britt (1994) suggests that the “issue has been concern that the causes of initial participation in crime may differ from the causes of continued involvement in criminal activity” (p. 193). Short (1985) stipulates that the choice is essentially between two levels of explanation the researcher can choose: (1) the sociological level and (2) the individual level. It is the levels of explanation which guide “the assumptions we make as we study anything, including criminology. They are important, in short, for

what we regard as important , the sorts of theories we construct, and the research we do" (Short, 1985, p. 51).

The individual level of explanation provides the focus for this study. "The individual level of explanation inquires as to what it is about individuals that explains their behavior. It seeks to answer the question most often asked in common discourse: why did this person commit this crime?" (Short, 1985, p 53).

The issue of what to study in order to understand criminality can be framed as a problem of punctuation. Does the researcher focus upon factors which lead to criminality or does the researcher focus upon the study of what happens after criminality has begun? This question has been hotly contested in the literature with the main antagonists being Hirschi and Gottfredson (1986, 1989) and Blumstein, Cohen and Farrington (1988). Hirschi and Gottfredson (1986, 1988) seek the key to criminal behavior in their studies of what leads individuals to commit crimes; whereas Blumstein, Cohen and Farrington (1988) seek the key to criminal behavior in noting the distinctions that are made among criminals once they have begun their careers as criminals.

Another factor that is important to examine when researching criminality is the type of crime committed. Social control theory has been criticized for ignoring the types of crimes committed. Theoretically, all criminal acts are considered in the same category. According to social control theory, it is the underlying trait of lack of self-control which determines if one will participate in criminal activity or not. Self-control is learned through attachment and connection to others. Britt claims that "the key elements to crime commission are not expected to change as

individuals commit more crime [or different crimes]. They are always self-control and opportunity" (p. 194). Hirschi and Gottfredson (1994a) add:

The theory of self-control covers common delinquencies (theft and assault), serious crimes (burglary and murder), reckless behaviors (speeding), school and employment difficulties (truancy, tardiness, in school misbehavior, job instability), promiscuous sexual behavior, drug use, and family violence (spouse abuse or child abuse), . . . No special motivation for any of these acts is assumed. (p. 16)

To reiterate, the deciding factor for Hirschi and Gottfredson is investigating what leads someone to commit a criminal act, *any* [italics added] criminal act, in the first place. Their presumption is that the cause for committing every criminal act is the same - low self-control (Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1986, 1988, 1994a).

For Hirschi and Gottfredson (1994a), low self-control corresponds with troublesome consequences. They see consequences for all acts (just as they see all criminal acts) as being equivalent. Their reasoning is as follows:

It is this equivalence that causes all of them to be avoided by those with high self-control. Because those with low self-control do not attend to long-term costs, whatever their magnitude, [italics added] they have a relatively high probability of engaging in all acts that entail mainly long-term costs. As a result, increasing the long-term penalties of criminal or deviant acts has little effect on the behavior of individuals low on self-control. If the actor does not attend to the consequences of his acts for himself, why should he care about their consequences for others?

According to Hirschi and Gottfredson (1986, 1994a) whatever the act may be, petit larceny, truancy, forcible rape or homicide, the key factor in predicting criminality turns upon whether the person has enough self-control to keep from committing the act in the first place.

It has also been demonstrated by researchers that those criminals who participate in "serious acts are more likely to engage in trivial acts, and vice versa" (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994a). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1994) write that, "[F]ortunately, a great deal of research in criminology and sociology is consistent with the assumption that offenders are versatile, that they do not specialize in violent or nonviolent behavior" (p. 41).

Hirschi and Gottfredson (1994b) declare strongly that there is "no credible evidence of specialization, escalation, or even patterning in criminal events exists . . ." (p. 262). They conclude from this evidence that there is an apparent underlying trait which leads to criminality regardless of the types of crimes committed (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1986; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994b).

Peterson and Braiker (1981) present a position that counters the Hirschi and Gottfredson argument. According to Peterson and Braiker (1981) in their study of adult prison inmates, "indices of the starting age and of the extent and seriousness of juvenile crime were each strongly associated with all measures of adult crime, including both violent and property crime . . ." (p. xxiv).

In support of the Peterson and Braiker comments is Weiss (1986) who stipulates that "both juvenile and adult serious, chronic offenders commit a greater variety of crimes more frequently than other offenders, particularly the more serious crimes and those involving violence" (p. 27). Through that perspective it would then behoove any researcher to consider the type of crimes committed in studying the criminality of individuals at any age.

In addition, Blumstein, Cohen and Farrington (1988) maintain that in order to conduct sound criminology research the variable of type of crime must be addressed. They state:

Rather than treat crime as an undifferentiated unitary phenomenon, the criminal career approach distinguishes the individuals who commit crime from the crimes that they commit, and it permits further desegregation of these elements by crime type. Such distinctions allow for the possibility that different causal factors and processes may be at work in accounting for each element. (p. 4)

Therefore, according to those authors, sound criminology research must address the type of crime.

It is Blumstein, Cohen and Farrington's (1988) contention that failing to distinguish between differing types of crimes in criminology research may then "confound very different types of offenders, thereby making causal inferences very difficult . . . the factors that influence the commission of one offense type might well be different from those that influence another" (Blumstein, Cohen & Farrington, 1988, p. 5).

Furthermore, Blumstein, Cohen and Farrington (1988) make the distinction between what agencies may be responsible for particular factions of research. As those authors assert:

Aside from the likely differences in program content, very different authorities have responsibility for prevention and treatment strategies. Schools, social service agencies, and mental health systems [italics added] all provide services that may reduce participation in crime, but reducing the frequency of crime by active offenders is more central to the decisions of the criminal justice system. (p. 7)

In other words, mental health professionals are interested in what enables someone to commit an illegal act for the very first time, whereas

the criminal justice system will focus on what to do with someone who has already committed a criminal act. One can only wonder at how the two worlds of mental health and criminal justice can meet.

There is a danger for researchers in regarding the "causes of crime as irrelevant, focusing instead on the threat and the reality of incarceration to control crime. In so doing, it reduces the study of the etiology of crime to an academic exercise, of knowledge for its own sake. Without denying deterrent effects, I reject this position unequivocally" (Short, 1985, p. 69).

Ironically, Blumstein, Cohen and Farrington (1988) the leading proponents of the career criminality paradigm in which frequency and severity of crimes committed are key factors, suggest that "[T]heories regarding the causes of crime will very likely have to distinguish the factors stimulating individuals to become involved in crime from factors affecting the frequency with which active offenders commit crimes, and from the factors inhibiting termination of criminal careers" (p. 4). Again, the distinction seems to center around what level of investigation do researchers choose upon to focus. One choice point may be to focus upon a social level as Hirschi and Gottfredson seem to choose or upon an individual level as Blumstein, Cohen and Farrington seem to choose.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will address the following topics: (a) instrumentation, (b) research design, (c) relevant variables, (d) procedures, , (e) hypotheses, and (f) data analysis.

The purpose of this study was to examine (a) the relationship between the degree of attachment between court-referred adolescents and their parents and the extent of juvenile delinquency as demonstrated by the number of charges against them, (b) the relationship between the degree of attachment between court-referred adolescents and their peers and the extent of juvenile delinquency as demonstrated by the number of charges against them, and (c) the relationship between the overall degree of attachment (of the court-referred adolescent to either their parents or peers) and extent of delinquency as demonstrated by the number of charges against them.

Instrumentation

The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment or IPPA (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was developed in an effort to formulate a standardized self-report measure that "assesses adolescent parent and peer relations using the conceptual framework of attachment theory" (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987, p. 430). It is a highly flexible instrument and has been used in a number of different studies with positive results.

The IPPA is a self-report, Likert scale measure which can be administered to adolescents as young as 12 years old. The IPPA was

normed on undergraduates at the University of Washington. The possible responses are almost never or never true, not very often true, sometimes true, often true or almost always or always true with almost never or never true being awarded the value of 1 and almost always or always true being awarded the value of 5. The scores are tallied by summing the item responses and the negatively worded items must be reversed-scored before calculations.

The IPPA is designed to assess several separate arenas regarding adolescents' attachment to both parents and peers. The scoring of the instrument provides an overall attachment score for both parents and peers as well as cluster scores for individual trust, communication and alienation scores for both parents and peers. For the purposes of this study the overall attachment for parents and overall attachment for peers score, the individual trust score, the communication score and the alienation score will be compared to extent of delinquency.

The directly scored items pertaining to trust in relation to parents are 1, 2, 4, 13, 14, 21, 23, 24 and the reversed scored items for the same scale are 3 and 10. A maximum score on the trust of parents subscale would be 50 and the minimum score would be 10. The directly scored items for trust in relation to peers are 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20 and 21 with the reverse scored item being 5. A maximum score for the trust of peers subscale would be 50 and a minimum score being 10. The directly scored items pertaining to communication in relation to parents are 6, 8, 16, 17, 20, 26, and 28 with the reversed scored items being 5, 7, and 15, with a maximum score of 50 and a minimum score of 10. The directly scored items pertaining to communication in relation to peers are 1, 2, 3,

7, 16, 17, 24 and 25 with no reverse scored items tabulated. Recording a maximum score for communication with peers of 40 and a minimum score of 8. There are no directly scored items for the alienation scale in relation to parents. The reverse scored items for that scale are 9, 11, 12, 18, 19, 22, 15, and 27, reporting a maximum score of 40 and a minimum score of 8. The direct scored items for the alienation scale in relation to peers are 4, 9, 10, 11, 18, 22, and 23 with no reverse scored items considered. Recording a maximum score for the alienation from peers scale of 35 and a minimum score of 7.

Armsden and Greenberg (1987) report three week test-retest reliabilities for a sample of 27 18-20 year olds were .93 for parent attachment and .86 for peer attachment. To determine validity, scores on the IPPA have been compared to scores on the Tennessee Self Concept Scale and scores on selected sub scales of the Family Environment Scale. In that comparison scores from the IPPA were moderately to highly related. Peer attachment is positively related to social self concept of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale and family expressiveness on the Family Environment Scale, and is strongly negatively correlated with loneliness. Also, Armsden, McCauley, Greenberg, Burke, and Mitchell (1991) administered the IPPA to their sample of 10 to 16 year old psychiatric patients and found that less secure parent attachment was related to clinical diagnosis of depression.

The IPPA has been utilized in several other studies, as well. Papini, Roggman and Anderson (1991) found using parent related questions of the IPPA that "[D]ata from their study show that perceived attachment to mother and father scores possess a high degree of internal

consistency as measured by Cronbach's alpha (.89 and .88 respectively)" (p. 264). Those researchers were able to conclude that as adolescents age, their attachment to respective parents changes. As children age and launch into independence their attachment to their parents wanes. What shifts is not the existence of attachment itself but the intensity of the attachment. In other words, the attachment between child and parent does not disappear, but the intensity of that attachment between parent and adolescent weakens. The existence of the attachment between adolescent and parent becomes readily apparent during times of crisis and/or transition when the adolescent may rely more heavily upon their attachment figure than during stable times.

In a second study conducted by Papini and Roggman (1992) the IPPA was administered to 47 family triads in a rural Midwestern state in which the adolescent was making the transition into junior high school. They concluded that attachment theory was supported in that "the obtained pattern of correlations conforms to theoretical expectations and provides empirical support for attachment theory: adolescents with stronger attachment relations with parents appear to enjoy greater feelings of emotional well-being." (p. 431). In particular, those adolescents with strong attachments to their parents (as assessed with the IPPA) report feeling less depressed and anxious than did their counterparts.

Cotterell (1992) attempted to address the context of attachment during phases of transition in a study conducted in Australia. More specifically, the phase of transition studied was from school to work. Cotterell (1992) concluded that "attachment to parents . . . continues to be

a powerful force for adolescent mental health well into middle-adolescence. For both sexes, associations were found between attachments to parents and young people's positive feelings about themselves" (p. 38).

Williams and McGee (1990) utilized the IPPA and found that there was a strong correlation between parental attachment and adolescents' self-perception of strength. In particular, females' self-perceived assessment of strength was more closely related to parental attachment than was true for the male participants in the study.

Research Design

The research design for this study was a correlational study in which the variable extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) was compared to the degree of overall attachment, degree of communication, degree of trust and degree of alienation (each as measured by the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment). The statistical analysis utilized was a linear regression model. Data for this study were analyzed through the use of the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 5.0) regression plot procedure. A linear regression plot was established for each of the hypotheses.

The independent variables were identified as communication with parents and peers; trust of parent and peers; alienation from parents and peers; and overall attachment with parents and peers. Each of the independent variables were then compared in separate linear regression plot analysis to the extent of juvenile delinquency as defined by the number of charges. A linear regression plot was established for each of

the eight hypotheses comparing each of the independent variables with the outcome variable, identified as the number of charges.

All participants were given the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) questionnaire (see Appendix B) as well as a demographic information sheet (see Appendix C). Data were also obtained from the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice regarding the number of charges against each adolescent, the date(s) of these charge(s), and the participant's birth date. The results of the various scores of the scales of the IPPA measurement were then compared to the data obtained regarding the number of charges.

Relevant Variables

Data were collected for research purposes only. The target minimum number of participants was 120 juveniles. All subjects were adolescents between the ages of 13 and 17. They were court-referred adolescents who were involved with the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice system. The court-referred adolescents were asked to provide information upon entry into the agency to which they had been court-referred. This study drew from a data set collected between the dates of April 1, 1996 through August 31, 1996 by an independent counseling agency. The research sample included adolescents who had been charged with as few as 1 or as many as 36 criminal charges. The subject pool included virtually every client who had been court-referred to the agency. Demographic data collected included age, race and gender. Efforts were made to attend to racial as well as age differences within each strata of extent of delinquency through the statistical analysis of the demographic information.

For the purposes of this study the number of crimes committed were addressed and not the severity of the crimes committed. This decision was based upon the theoretical rationale presented in Chapter II. The purpose of this study was to focus upon what possible factors are relevant in allowing a juvenile to commit an offense. In addition to the theoretically based argument presented in Chapter II, the number of charges each participant carried was the focus of study instead of the severity of the crimes listed because of the great variability within charges levied. For example, a battery charge can be something as minor as simply touching someone without their permission (brushing up against them or poking their arm with a finger) or can be something as severe as striking another individual with one's fist. Because of the potential variability within each legal definition of each charge, the number of charges was the focus of this study and not the label of the crime committed.

Demographic information was also gathered in terms of number of members currently living in the household; whether the family receives any financial public assistance; the subject's current age, gender and racial identity; as well as a listing of the age at which offenses were committed. Information was also sought by the researcher concerning whether crimes were committed by the juvenile alone or in groups. That information was not collected by the agency, and was therefore unavailable for this research project.

Research data were collected on degree of attachment by the adolescent to both peers and parents. Degree of attachment was examined for evidence of strong or weak attachment of the adolescent to

peers and parents. This degree of attachment was then assessed to determine what role, if any, attachment plays in the extent of juvenile delinquency.

Components of attachment were assessed, namely, the degree of (a) trust, (b) communication and (c) alienation expressed by the adolescent vis a vis their parents and peers. Each of these three dimensions were then compared to the extent of involvement (i.e., number of charges) in the juvenile justice system to determine any possible relationship between the degree of delinquency and the degree of trust, communication and/or alienation each subject attributes to their relationship with peers and parents.

Data were also collected from the Department of Juvenile Justice concerning the number of criminal charges each participant had accrued. That variable was compared to the reported degree of attachment to both peers and parents. The reported degree of attachment was compared to the number of charges accrued in order to discern what relationship exists between the extent of delinquency and their degree of attachment to peers as well as their parents.

Procedures

The population specifically targeted for this study was adolescents involved in the Department of Juvenile Justice system in the state of Florida who range in age between 13 and 18. The entire research sample was drawn from this group. Information had been collected on adolescents whose ages ranged from 11 years old to 18 years old. For this study data were collected on 114 participants. The population studied was slightly skewed with more male than female participants.

However, this was representative of the general population of juvenile delinquents in the state of Florida. Data were collected from two separate Department of Juvenile Justice districts which include 16 counties located geographically in North Central Florida.

Fourteen of those participants who completed the questionnaires were not included in this study's final analysis sample because they were outside the ages which had been identified to be studied. One of the participants was 11 years old with thirteen of the participants being 18 years old. Three other participants had not completed the questionnaire packet entirely, therefore their information could not be used in the analysis. The total sample established for statistical analysis in this study was 97 participants.

All data utilized in this study had been previously collected by a private counseling agency with the cooperation of the Department of Juvenile Justice. This private counseling agency specialized in treating the juvenile offender. All referrals to the agency were court ordered to attend counseling. The agency was located in the same geographical area as the subjects reside. The agency received all of its client referrals for counseling service from juvenile justice case managers within the Department of Juvenile Justice. All the clients court referred for services to this agency were potential subjects for this study.

Upon receiving verbal consent from the client (see Appendix B), subjects were asked to complete the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment (see Appendix C) and the demographic information sheet (see Appendix D). The questionnaires were administered during the first interview. If there was any confusion on the part of the participant as to

whom their answers on the IPPA should be geared the subjects were informed to fill out the questionnaire keeping in mind the person(s) who had most influenced them, as the instructions to the instrument direct.

For example, if a participant had resided in their grandparents' home and had been raised by a grandparent instead of a biological parent but had maintained contact with their biological parent, there was the potential for confusion in answering the IPPA questionnaire because of the way the directions to the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment are worded. This factor was only addressed if the participant voiced confusion about whom they should respond. The Florida Department of Juvenile Justice provided information regarding the criminal charges each participant had levied against them. The information about the charges was the last data to be collected.

Also, he/she was informed verbally that their anonymity would be protected which was insured by the fact that there was no identifying information on the data packets. The primary investigator received the data packets from the private agency with no identifying information on them. Subjects were informed verbally of all instructions in lieu of written instructions because adolescents tend to be better listeners than readers and it is the presumption of this investigator that verbal instructions for this population would be better understood than written instructions. They were also informed verbally that the data was collected for research purposes only.

Other subjects were recruited directly by the Department of Juvenile Justice by the adolescent's Department of Juvenile Justice case manager. Those subjects were given the same assurances about

confidentiality of their responses. A series of administration guidelines (see Appendix A) had been developed in order insure standardization of administration when the subjects were directly recruited by Department of Juvenile Justice.

Packets of the questionnaires sealed in manila envelopes were organized with the questionnaires prearranged in a specific order. Those packets were handed out to respective subjects by the Department of Juvenile Justice case manager and returned to the same Department of Juvenile Justice case manager sealed in the manila envelope. The case manager then returned the entire packet to the agency representative. Because the data packets were unidentifiable and therefore untraceable back to any particular participant the case managers were never provided any information regarding the subjects' responses. Each case manager was made aware of the anonymity of each participants response before they handed out packets. The fact that their case managers would never know what they responded was made clear to each subject.

Subjects were not provided any financial compensation for their participation. Some subjects may have received community service hours credit in return for their participation. That decision was left to the respective Department of Juvenile Justice case manager. The agency was never notified whether participants were awarded community service hours by their case manager. Participants received no other compensation for their participation in this study.

Hypotheses

Data were evaluated for (a) extent of delinquency, (b) degree of attachment to parents and peers, (c) degree of trust relating to parents and peers, (d) degree of communication relating to parents and peers, and (e) degree of alienation in relation to parents and peers. The following null hypotheses were investigated in this study:

- H₀₁: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and attachment by delinquent adolescents to their parents (as measured by the overall score on the IPPA).
- H₀₂: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and attachment by delinquent adolescents to their peers (as measured by the overall score on the IPPA).
- H₀₃: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and trust between delinquent adolescents and their parents (as measured by the trust scale for parents of the IPPA).
- H₀₄: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency(as measured by the number of criminal charges) and trust between delinquent adolescents and their peers (as measured by the trust scale for peers of the IPPA).
- H₀₅: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and communication between delinquent adolescents and

parents (as measured by the communication scale for parents of the IPPA).

H₀₆: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and communication between delinquent adolescents and peers (as measured by the communication scale for peers of the IPPA).

H₀₇: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and alienation between delinquent adolescents and parents (as measured by the alienation scale for parents of the IPPA).

H₀₈: There is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and alienation between delinquent adolescents and peers (as measured by the alienation scale for peers of the IPPA).

Data Analysis

This research project investigated the relationships between measures of extent of delinquency and attachment. Because the focus was upon two or more continuous variables, linear regression analyses were used to analyze the data. The dependent variable was identified as the extent of delinquency as measured by the number of crimes committed. The independent variables for the purpose of this study were: (a) degree of attachment to parents; (b) degree of attachment to peers; (c) degree of alienation from parents; (d) degree of alienation

from peers; (e) degree of communication with parents; (f) degree of communication with peers; (g) degree of trust for parents; and (h) degree of trust for peers. Each of the preceding degrees was measured by the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment.

Linear regression was used to determine the hypothesized relationships as follows:

1. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and overall attachment to parents (as measured by the overall score on the IPPA);
2. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and overall attachment to peers (as measured by the overall score on the IPPA);
3. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and trust between delinquent adolescents and parents (as measured by the trust scale for parents of the IPPA);
4. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and trust between delinquent adolescents and peers (as measured by the trust scale for peers of the IPPA);
5. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and communication between delinquent adolescents and parents (as measured by the communication scale for parents of the IPPA);
6. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and

communication between delinquent adolescents and peers (as measured by the communication scale for peers of the IPPA);

7. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and alienation between delinquent adolescents and parents (as measured by the alienation scale for parents of the IPPA);

8. The analysis of the relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges accrued) and alienation between delinquent adolescents and peers (as measured by the alienation scale for peers of the IPPA).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the degree of attachment of court referred adolescents to their parents or their peers and the extent of juvenile delinquency those court referred adolescents exhibit. More specifically, this research sought to illustrate any of the relationships between (a) degree of communication reported by court referred adolescents to their parents or their peers and extent of each participant's juvenile delinquency; (b) the degree of trust reported by court referred adolescents of their parents or their peers and the extent of their juvenile delinquency; (c) the degree of alienation as reported by court referred adolescents from their parents or peers and the extent of their juvenile delinquency; and (d) the degree of overall attachment as reported by court referred adolescents to their parents or peers and the extent of their juvenile delinquency.

The degrees of communication, trust, alienation and overall attachment for both parents and peers as was perceived by the court referred adolescent were measured using the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment (IPPA). These communication, trust, alienation and overall attachment scores for parents and peers were then related to the extent of juvenile delinquency (as defined by the number of charges).

In this chapter the procedures for data collection, data analysis, and results are discussed. In addition, descriptive data outlining the population studied will be presented.

Data Collection

For this study, data were collected on 114 participants. All of the data collected were from adolescents involved in the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice system. Information had been collected on adolescents' whose ages ranged from 11 years old to 18 years old. Fourteen of those participants who completed the questionnaires were not included in this study's final analysis sample because they were outside the ages which had been identified to be studied. One of the participants was 11 years old with thirteen of the participants being 18 years old. Three other participants had not completed the questionnaire packet entirely, therefore their information could not be used in the analysis. The total sample analyzed for this study was 97 participants.

The data were collected through a private counseling agency which asked potential participants to complete the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment (see Appendix B) and the demographic information sheet (see Appendix C). The Florida Department of Juvenile Justice provided information in reference to the number of charges for each individual subject. The information concerning the number of charges for each participant was the last piece of data to be collected and included in the data packets.

All identifying information was then removed from the data packets to ensure confidentiality. Those data packets were then provided to the primary investigator of this study by the counseling agency for the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment to be scored and data analyzed.

Demographic description of the population sample

Descriptive analyses were conducted on the categorical variables of gender, ethnic identity, family configuration and number of charges. Descriptive analysis was also conducted on the interval variables of age, degrees of communication, trust, alienation and overall attachment. The results of these analysis will be presented.

The result of the analysis of the categorical variables of gender, ethnic identity, family configuration and number of charges are presented in Table 1. The results of the analysis of the interval variables of age, degrees of communication, trust, alienation and overall attachment for both parents and peers are presented in Table 2.

Categorical variables

Gender

The total sample analyzed consisted of 97 adolescents. There were 57 male participants composing 58.8% of the total sample. There were 40 female participants comprising 41.2% of the total sample.

Ethnic Identity

Of the total population sample, 47.4% of the sample population identified themselves as black. Of the total sample population 45 (or 46.4% of the total sample population) identified themselves as white. The remainder of the population sample was comprised of three (or 3.1% of the total sample population) Hispanic and three (or 3.1% of the total sample population) as being of mixed origins. All three of those participants who identified their ethnic origins as being of mixed ethnic identity specified that they were biracially black and white. Table 1

provides an outline for the variables of gender and ethnic origin for the population analyzed.

Table 1

Sample Population by Gender and Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Black	27	19	46 (47.4%)
White	27	18	45 (46.4%)
Hispanic	2	1	3 (3.1%)
Other	1	2	3 (3.1%)
Total			97

Family Configuration

The vast majority of the sample population identified themselves as living in a non-nuclear family configuration. Of the total sample population, 59.9% (N=58) of the participants were from non-nuclear family configurations. Subsequent analysis revealed that 29.9% (N=29) responded that they resided in households headed by only their mother. Of the total sample population, 6.2% (N=6) responded that they lived in households headed by only their father. Those participants that identified living in a household in which there was a mother and stepfather configuration were numbered at 18.6% of the total sample population (N=18). Those participants which identified a father and stepmother configuration comprised 5.2% of the total sample population (N=5).

The remainder of the total sample population in reference to family configuration was comprised of mother and father headed households (33.0% of the total population sample or N=32). Participants who identified living in a household headed by grandparent(s) were 6.2% of the total population sample (N=6). The last family configuration category available listed heads of household as "others". For example, the head of household may have been a sibling, an aunt or a cousin. That category made up 1.0% (or N=1) of the total sample population. See Table 2 for a graphical presentation of the family configuration data.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics on Family Configuration Categorical Variable

Ethnicity

Family Configuration	Black	White	Hispanic	Other	Totals
mother and father	12	16	2	2	32
mother alone	17	10	1	1	29
father alone	2	4	-	-	6
mother and stepfather	8	10	-	-	18
father and stepmother	2	3	-	-	5
grandparent(s)	4	2	-	-	6
other:	1	-	-	-	1
sibling, cousin, aunt					
Totals :	46	45	3	3	97

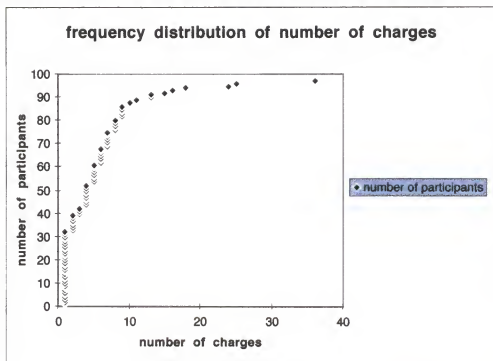
Number of Charges

The number of criminal charges ranged from one charge to a maximum of 36 charges. The vast majority of the participants (86 participants) had charges ranging from 1 charge to 9 charges. The remaining participants' number of charges were distributed from 10 to 36

charges. The mean number of criminal charges was measured at 5.32 ($M = 5.32$), with the median score of 4.0 and the mode number of charges was 1.0. See Table 3 for an illustrative graph of the criminal charge data.

Table 3

Distribution of the Number of Charges Per Number of Participants



Interval Variables

The interval variables are outlined in the following section. Table 4 graphically depicts the interval variables.

Age

The ages of the participants ranged from 12 to 17 years old. When grouped by age the largest concentration of participants clustered around the ages of 15 years old where the mean and the median were calculated at 15 and the mode was calculated to be 16 years of age.

Degree of Communication

The mean score for degree of communication with parents as rated by the participants was calculated to be 34.80 (standard deviation of 8.12) where a maximum possible score for the communication scale for parents was 50 and the minimum possible score for the communication scale for parents was 10. The mean score for degree of communication with peers as rated by the participants was calculated to be 27.81 (standard deviation of 6.99) where a maximum possible score for the communication scale for peers was 40 and the minimum possible score for the degree of communication scale with peers was 8.

Degree of Trust

The mean score for the degree of trust of parents as rated by the participants was calculated to be 37.87 (standard deviation of 7.95) where the maximum possible score for degree of trust of parents was 50 and the minimum possible score for the scale of trust of parents was 10. The mean score for degree of trust of peers was calculated to be 39.81 (standard deviation of 7.86) where the maximum possible score for the scale of trust of peers is 50 and the minimum possible score possible on that scale is 10.

Degree of Alienation

The mean score for the degree of alienation from parents was calculated to be 27.36 (standard deviation of 6.77) where the maximum possible scores and minimum possible scores for the scale of alienation from parents were 40 and 8 respectively. The mean score for the degree of alienation from peers was calculated to be 17.26 (standard deviation

of 5.22) where the maximum possible score for the scale of alienation from peers was 35 and the minimum possible score was 7.

Degree of Overall Attachment

The mean score for the degree of overall attachment with parents was calculated to be 99.44 (standard deviation of 20.07) where the maximum possible score for the scale of overall attachment with parents was 140 and the minimum possible for that scale was 28. The mean score for the degree of overall attachment with peers was calculated to be 92.26 (standard deviation of 15.73) where the maximum possible score for the scale of overall attachment to peers was 125 and the minimum possible for that scale was 25.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Interval Variables

Variable Degree of:	Mean	S.D.
Communication with Parent	34.08	8.12
Communication with Peers	27.81	6.99
Trust of Parent	37.87	7.95
Trust of Peers	39.81	7.86
Alienation from Parent	27.36	6.77
Alienation from Peers	17.26	5.22
Attachment to Parents	99.43	20.07
Attachment to Peers	92.26	15.73

In addition to the descriptive statistics conducted for this study, the reliability coefficient for this study sample was also calculated. A Cronbach's alpha for this sample was calculated to be $\alpha = .68$ indicating

that this sample's results were marginally reliable particularly in comparison to the other reliability scores reported by Armsden and Greenberg (1987) with their three week test-retest reliabilities for a sample of 27 18-20 year olds of .93 for parent attachment and .86 for peer attachment..

Statistical Analysis Procedures

Data for this study were analyzed through the use of the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 5.0) regression plot procedure. A linear regression plot was established for each of the eight hypotheses. In order to determine levels of statistical significance, the type I error rate was established at .05, that is $p < .05$. This established significance level determined the basis upon which the decision was made either to accept or reject the null research hypotheses.

The independent variables of communication with parents and peers; trust of parent and peers; alienation from parents and peers; and overall attachment with parents and peers were identified. Each of the independent variables were then compared in separate linear regression plot analysis to the extent of juvenile delinquency as defined by the number of charges. A linear regression plot was established for each of the eight hypotheses with the number of charges designated as the outcome variable. Table 5 describes the specific variables used in the linear regression equation.

Table 5

Description of Linear Regression Predictor and Criterion Variables

Predictor Variable	Criterion Variable
parent communication	number of charges
peer communication	
parent trust	
peer trust	
parent alienation	
peer alienation	
parent attachment	
peer attachment	

Further linear regressions were conducted in an effort to possibly define some of the other potential relationships among the variables. What was of particular interest, was the investigation of how (if at all) were the variables of gender, ethnicity and the scores of the IPPA related. The population sample was split by gender. Then for each of the resulting two groups three separate linear regression groupings were conducted for each gender comparing the independent variables defined as the IPPA scores (parent and peer communication; parent and peer trust; parent and peer alienation; parent and peer overall attachment) with three differing dependent variables listed as participant age, participant ethnicity and participant family configuration. Table 6 depicts the linear regression pairings of the independent and dependent variables when the total sample was split by gender.

Table 6

Description of Correlation Variable Pairings when Sample Split by Gender

Predictor Variable	Outcome Variable
age	parent communication peer communication
ethnicity	parent trust peer trust
family configuration	parent alienation peer alienation parent attachment peer attachment

Note. Each set of identified comparisons were conducted for both the male and female factions of the sample.

Regression Results

The results of the linear regression plots found that none of the input variables (parent communication, peer communication, parent trust, peer trust, parent alienation, peer alienation, parent overall attachment, peer overall attachment) were statistically significantly related to the outcome variable (number of charges). These results would suggest that the input variables listed have no relationship to the outcome variable named.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

Eight original hypotheses were tested in this research effort. Regression analysis was used to test each hypothesis for statistical

significance. Data obtained from this study were used to either reject or accept the null hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 stated that there is no relationship between extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and attachment to parents (as measured by the overall attachment score on the IPPA). The results of the correlational analysis ($r = .15$; $r^2 = .02$; $p = .13$) demonstrated that there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that there is a relationship between overall attachment to parents and the extent of juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis two stated that there is no relationship between the extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and the attachment with peers (as measured by the overall attachment with peers scale of the IPPA). The results of the linear regression ($r = .13$; $r^2 = .01$; $p = .18$) demonstrated that there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that there that any relationship between peer attachment and extent of juvenile delinquency exists.

In hypothesis three, it was stated that there is no relationship between the extent of delinquency (as measured by number of criminal charges) and trust between court referred adolescents and their parents (as measured by the trust scale for parents of the IPPA). The results of the linear regression ($r = .17$; $r^2 = .03$; $p = .07$) demonstrated that there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that there is a relationship between trust for parents and extent of juvenile delinquency.

In hypothesis four, it was postulated that there is no relationship between the extent of juvenile delinquency (as measured by the number

of charges) and trust between court referred adolescents and their peers (as measured by the trust scale for peers of the IPPA). The linear regression ($r = .14$; $r^2 = .01$; $p = .17$) indicates that there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that any relationship exists between trust for peers and extent of juvenile delinquency.

The fifth hypothesis stated that there is no relationship between the extent of juvenile delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and the communication between court referred adolescents and their parents (as measured by the communication scale for parents on the IPPA). The linear regression ($r = .11$; $r^2 = .01$; $p = .27$) indicates that there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that any relationship exists between trust for peers and extent of juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis six stated that there is no relationship between the extent of delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and the communication between court referred adolescents and their peers (as measured by the communication scale for peers on the IPPA). The linear regression result ($r = .18$; $r^2 = .03$; $p = .06$) indicates that there is insufficient evidence that there exists any relationship between peer communication and the extent of delinquency.

In hypothesis seven, it was postulated that there is no relationship between the extent of juvenile delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and alienation from parents by court referred adolescents (as measured by the alienation score for parents on the IPPA). The linear regression conducted ($r = .10$; $r^2 = .01$; $p = .30$)

indicates that there is insufficient evidence to conclude that there is any relationship between alienation from parents and extent of juvenile delinquency.

For hypothesis eight, it was stated that there is no relationship between the extent of juvenile delinquency (as measured by the number of criminal charges) and alienation from peers by court referred adolescents (as measured by the peer alienation score of the IPPA). The linear regression value ($r = .11$; $r^2 = .01$; $p = .25$) would suggest that there is not sufficient evidence to that there exists a relationship between the extent of juvenile delinquency and peer alienation. These regression analyses results can be found in Table 7.

Table 7

Results of the Correlation Analysis for Original Eight Hypotheses

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable		
	Extent of Delinquency		
	r	r ²	p
parent attachment	0.15	0.02	0.13
peer attachment	0.13	0.01	0.18
parent trust	0.17	0.03	0.07
peer trust	0.14	0.01	0.17
parent communication	0.11	0.01	0.27
peer communication	0.18	0.03	0.06
parent alienation	0.1	0.01	0.3
peer alienation	0.11	0.01	0.25

The most substantial statistical results were involved in the second strata of analysis. When the eight IPPA scores (parent and peer communication; parent and peer trust; parent and peer alienation; parent and peer overall attachment) were correlated with the variables of age,

ethnicity and parental configuration with the sample split by gender, some of the correlations were significant. The correlations which demonstrated statistical significance, albeit weak significance, were the IPPA scores compared to ethnicity for both gender groups. For the female sample of the study, family configuration when correlated to two of the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment scales demonstrated a weak statistical significance.

For the male component ($n = 57$) of the sample studied, the subscales relating to peers were significant when correlated to ethnicity. The correlation of peer attachment to ethnicity ($r = .38$; $r^2 = .14$; $\beta = -1.3$; $p = .003$) was significant. Also for the male sample, the correlation of peer communication to ethnicity ($r = .27$; $r^2 = .07$; $\beta = .83$; $p = .03$), and peer alienation to ethnicity ($r = -.43$; $r^2 = .18$; $\beta = -.43$; $p = .001$) were statistically significant where $\alpha = .05$. These results are displayed in Table 8.

Table 8

Statistically Significant Results for Males

Males ($n = 57$)

ethnicity

	r	r^2	β	p
peer attachment	0.38	0.14	-1.3	0.003
peer communication	0.27	0.07	0.83	0.03
peer alienation	-0.43	0.18	-0.43	0.001

For the female component ($n = 40$) of the study sample there were several correlations shown to be significant with $\alpha = .05$. The correlation of parent attachment with ethnicity was significant ($r = -.37$; $r^2 = .14$; $\beta = -.37$; $p = .01$). the correlation of parent communication with ethnicity for the females samples was shown to be significant ($r = -.39$; $r^2 = .15$; $\beta = -.39$; $p = .01$). Parent alienation for the females polled was significantly correlated with ethnicity ($r = -.34$; $r^2 = .11$; $\beta = -.33$; $p = .03$).

Other statistically significant correlations for the females sampled centered around the parent configuration variable. The correlation of parent configuration with parent trust was shown to be significant ($r = -.32$; $r^2 = .10$; $\beta = -.35$; $p = .04$). The last significant correlation for the female sample was the comparison of parent configuration with parent communication ($r = -.35$; $r^2 = .12$; $\beta = -.35$; $p = .03$). A summary table of these statistical results with the sample divided by gender can be found in Table 9.

Table 9

Statistically Significant Results for Females

Females (n = 47)

	ethnicity			
	r	r ²	B	p
parent attachment	-0.37	0.14	-0.37	0.01
parent communication	-0.39	0.15	-0.39	0.01
parent alienation	-0.34	0.11	-0.33	0.03
	parent configuration			
parent communication	-0.35	0.12	-0.35	0.03
parent trust	-0.32	0.1	-0.32	0.04

Following those results the sample was more closely examined to determine if there were further distinctions between ethnic groups and genders. Because of the minimal number of subjects representing the Hispanic (n = 3) and the "other" (n = 3) categories those subjects responses were not used for this portion of the analyses. When the data for the black male respondents (n = 27) were compared to the data for the black female respondents (n = 19) there was no significance found for any of the variable pairings. The same nonsignificant results were found when white male subjects (n = 27) responses were compared with the white female subjects (n = 18) responses. No statistical significance was found for the comparisons of either of these groups for this sample.

However, when the sample was analyzed utilizing a different dividing strategy there were some significant results found. There were significant findings found for several variable pairings when the sample

was split between black respondents and white respondents. The male and female black subjects ($n = 46$) responses were compared with the combination of male and female white subjects ($n = 45$) responses. There were fewer significant results found for the female subject pool when black female subjects ($n = 19$) responses were compared with white female subjects ($n = 18$) responses. Lastly, there was only one significant variable pairing when regression analyses were conducted comparing black male subjects responses ($n = 27$) with white male subjects responses ($n = 27$).

In the analysis of the black study sample ($n = 46$) versus the white study sample ($n = 45$) the significant results found somewhat mirrored the significant results found when the sample was split previously by gender and significant results were found for ethnicity. For example, there was a significant difference found between the black study respondents and the white study respondents concerning the variable of parent communication ($r = -.25$; $r^2 = .06$; $\beta = -.25$; $p = .01$). There was also significance indicated when comparing the black respondents data and the white respondents data concerning the variable of parent alienation. For the black versus white comparison there was a significant difference between those populations concerning the variable of parent alienation ($r = -.23$; $r^2 = .05$; $\beta = -.23$; $p = .02$).

In addition, there was significance indicated in comparing the two ethnic groups of black and white in relation to the variable of parent attachment. For the total sample black respondents versus the total sample of white respondents comparison there was a statistically

significant difference found between those populations concerning the variable of parent attachment ($r = -.27$; $r^2 = .07$; $\beta = -.27$; $p = .009$). The last significant result for the black sample versus white sample comparison was concerning the variable of peer alienation ($r = -.22$; $r^2 = .05$; $\beta = -.22$; $p = .02$). A table outlining these results may be found in Table 10.

Table 10

Significant Results When Comparing Black Respondents' Scores With White Respondents' Scores

	Overall Black versus Overall White Scores			
	r	r^2	β	p
parent communication	-0.25	0.06	-0.25	0.01
parent alienation	-0.23	0.05	-0.23	0.02
parent attachment	-0.27	0.07	-0.27	0.009
peer alienation	-0.22	0.05	-0.22	0.02

For the female sample of the study when black subjects' responses ($n = 19$) were compared to white subjects' responses ($n = 18$) there were shown to be several statistically significant categories. For example, for the female sample there was a significant difference between black respondents and white respondents concerning the variable of parent communication ($r = -.34$; $r^2 = .12$; $\beta = -.34$; $p = .03$). Also, in comparing that same sample split there was a statistically significant difference found between black female respondents and white female respondents concerning the variable of parent alienation

($r = -.34$; $r^2 = .11$; $\beta = -.34$; $p = .03$). The last variable to be found statistically significant for the females of this study sample was parent attachment. There was a significant difference indicated between black female respondents and white female respondents in reference to parent attachment ($r = -.38$; $r^2 = .14$; $\beta = -.38$; $p = .01$). A table outlining the results of the female sample may be found in Table 11.

Table 11

Significant Results Comparing Black Female Respondents' Scores to White Female Respondents' Scores

	Black Females Scores Versus White Female Scores			
	r	r ²	β	p
parent communication	-0.34	0.12	-0.34	0.03
parent alienation	-0.34	0.11	-0.34	0.03
parent attachment	-0.38	0.14	-0.38	0.01

There was only one significant variable identified when comparing the black males of the study sample ($n = 27$) with the white males of the study sample ($n = 27$). There was a significant difference found between black male respondents and white male respondents concerning the variable of peer alienation ($r = -.35$; $r^2 = .12$; $\beta = -.35$; $p = .009$).

In summary, this chapter has presented the data analysis and results for this research project. It has addressed data collection procedures, a description of the population sample variables, a regression analysis description, the results of the linear regression and evaluations of each hypotheses. Data collected for this study were

analyzed for statistical significance to support acceptance or rejection of each of the null hypothesis. The results of each linear regression would suggest that there was insufficient evidence to reject any of the stated null hypotheses.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this chapter the following will be presented: (a) a brief summary of the research study; (b) discussion of the study results; (c) limitations of the study; (d) implications for research; (e) implications for theory; (f) implications for practice; and (g) a chapter summary.

This study has been an attempt to examine the potential relationship between the variables of attachment and juvenile delinquency. Attachment was examined through statistically analyzing the scores of the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment, including the scales of communication, trust, alienation and overall attachment. Those scores were then compared to what had been defined as the extent of juvenile delinquency as measured by the number of charges each participant had acquired.

Based upon the theoretical components of this study, social control theory (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1988, 1994; Hirschi, 1969, 1983; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994a, 1994b) and Bowlby's attachment theory (1969, 1980, 1988) the underlying premise for this study was that attachment would be an important variable in the formula predicting juvenile delinquency. Namely, if one flounders in a world with diminished attachment, then one is left to fend for themselves in a number of different arenas. Also, without such attachment one is unaware that they are worthy of love and respect.

Theoretically it was postulated that through the bridge of attachment individual's learn the "ways of the world" in which they live.

Through attachment to significant others, individuals learn what is deemed right or wrong. Attachment also acts as the conduit through which morals and social mores are internalized. Through attachment individuals first learn how to view themselves in that the attachment figure is the first source of feedback or information for that individual. It is through this attachment that people learn they are worthy of care and nurturance. Without that attachment individuals feel unworthy of care, whether that caring comes from themselves or from others.

Attachment provides a secure base to which one can always turn to for support in times of stress and duress. The secure base is established early in an individual's life and ostensibly is available to the individual throughout their lifetime. If internalization was successful then that secure base does not even need to be physically available for an individual to feel safe and secure. However, without those early attachments it is hypothesized that individuals are left to fend for themselves based upon very little feedback about themselves or their worth. For this study it was postulated that adolescents who had criminal charges would demonstrate less attachment to either parents or peers.

Discussion of Results

As reported in the results section of Chapter IV, none of the identified variables (communication with parents or peers; trust of parents or peers; alienation from parents or peers; or overall attachment to parents or peers) demonstrated any statistical significance in relation to the dependent variable which was identified as the number of charges against each participant.

One of the most plausible explanations for the statistically insignificant results may be the small sample available to be analyzed. Because the total number of participants available for statistical analysis was only 97, the power of the analysis was diminished and therefore inconclusive.

Another potential factor in the statistically insignificant results may be the use of a Likert-type scale with adolescents. Adolescence is typically a time of extremes whether it be in clothing, language, expression, music or relationships. Combining the potential daily drama which can pervade adolescence with a developmental psychology perspective, adolescents' thinking patterns are beginning to shift from concrete to more abstract thought processes. Typically their world is black and white with very little gray. What this study's sample may represent is the more concrete thinking process combined with the dramatic effect of adolescence. Those two factors combined may have skewed the answers to either of the extreme ends of the Likert-type scale regardless of the question being asked.

What also may be surfacing are the limitations of the questionnaire format itself, particularly the dilemmas inherent in using a self-report instrument. It may be that adolescents, who are in the midst of the turmoil of judging and being judged, are particularly cautious about the attitudes they report. It may be that they do not wish to stand out because in their experience they know that those who stand out are the ones who get chided. Therefore, the effort becomes one of blending in and always answering on the side of caution, which would always be the middle of a

Likert-scale. Once again, the questionnaire format may have yielded inconclusive results.

Another mitigating factor to consider may be the number of participants who have only one charge against them. The number of participants with only one charge comprised approximately one-third of the entire sample. There were 32 participants (or 33% of the entire sample analyzed) who only had one charge. What may be reflected with their data is that those participants are more akin to the general population at large and less like a juvenile delinquent population. Because of the preponderance of participants with only a single charge, this study sample may not be representative of a delinquent population. In future studies, it would prove beneficial to have a sample which included more chronically delinquent participants.

Another limitation may be found in the norm group on which the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment one of the limitations noted earlier was the population upon which the instrument was based. The IPPA was developed on older, mostly Caucasian college students. By contrast, the sample for this study consisted of younger participants, of whom 46.4% were Caucasian and 53.6% represented Minorities group status. It was the results of the latter linear regression analysis which proved to be most interesting.

In subsequent regression analyses, the sample was divided into male and female categories. For the resulting two pools of male versus female, the IPPA scores were then compared to ethnicity, age and parental configuration. The only comparisons to demonstrate any

statistical significance were the IPPA variables compared to ethnicity and parent configuration.

For the male group, ethnicity when correlated to peer attachment, peer communication and peer alienation all were shown to be statistically significant. For the female sample, ethnicity when compared to parental attachment, parent communication, and parent alienation all were shown to be statistically significant. The correlations between parent configuration and parent communication and parent trust were also shown to be significant for the female pool.

The statistically significant results reported in Chapter IV in relation to gender and ethnicity may be tentatively interpreted as a beginning of a “teasing out” of the importance of taking into account ethnicity as well as gender differences in this sample, particularly in terms of how attachment and connection are construed by the separate genders and the ethnic groups.

At first glance, what may be in effect in relation to the gender differences found in this study is the differing socialization roles males and females face. What was shown to be statistically significant for the males of this sample was relationships with peers. However, for the females the statistically significant relationships was with their parents. This finding may point to future research efforts with the focus being upon gender differences.

For example, it may prove interesting to study the constructs of attachment and attachment figures to expose how males and females perceive those concepts. As noted, the statistically significant results for females were all in relation to parents whereas the statistically significant

results for males were all in relation to peers. An as of yet untested interpretation of those significant results may be that during adolescence males focus more intently on their peer relationships and females focus more intently on their parental relationships.

Just as the significant results of this study for gender may prove fruitful for further study so may the significant results for the differing ethnic groups. Because of the type of statistical analysis used for this study, the only definitive conclusion which can be drawn was that there were differences between the black sample of this study and the white sample of this study concerning the identified variables of parent attachment, parent alienation, parent communication and peer alienation. The females (blacks when compared to whites) differed on the variables relating to parents and the males (blacks when compared to whites) differed on the variable relating to peers. Again, these results may bolster future research in terms of investigating not only gender differences but also ethnic differences in the interpretation of attachment. To attempt to further discuss exactly how those differences are important based on this data would be premature.

Limitations of the Study

A methodological limitation of this study is the use of a self-report measurement. One of the difficulties in using such a measure with adolescents is the possibility of "Christmas treeing" the answer sheet. This is adjusted for somewhat by having the participant complete the questionnaires while being monitored by a proctor.

Another methodological limitation which may have influenced the results of this study was the use of a self-report instrument which may

have resulted in self-report bias by the subjects. The potential danger in using self-report measures is one of honesty. To safeguard for the most accurate and honest response set possible, the subjects were assured of their anonymity and that their answers would not be released to any of the other authorities involved (specifically, the Department of Juvenile Justice).

An additional methodological limitation concerns the lack of evidence supporting the validity of the IPPA. Nonetheless, it has been used in the aforementioned studies (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Armsden, McCauley, Greenberg, Burke & Mitchell, 1991; Greenberg, Siegal, & Leitch, 1984; Redondo, Martin, Fernandez & Lopez, 1986; Papini, Roggman & Anderson, 1991; Cotterell, 1992; Williams & McGee, 1991; Pappini & Roggman, 1992) and has been recognized by them as being of research caliber.

A limitation of the IPPA itself is that it was developed on older, mostly Caucasian college students. By contrast, the the population for this study offered approximately equal representation for Caucasian and Black participants and none were of college age. Furthermore, there was little evidence available to gauge how this study sample compared with the norm group because there are apparently no mean scores reported for each of the subscales tested.

The types of crime committed were not addressed in this study, which may prove to be a limitation for this study. Crimes against persons were not differentiated from property crimes in any of the analyses. The theoretical rationale for not addressing the type of crime committed was presented in Chapter II.

This study sought potential factors which lead one to delinquency. The focus was upon varying degrees of attachment and how that may affect criminality, for example, potentially a juvenile delinquent who has further penetrated the juvenile justice system is one who is less and less attached to parents and/or peers. The focus of this study was upon the number of charges each respondent possessed. The presumption being that in a typical scenario an individual works his or her way up "the ladder of criminality". In other words, a juvenile typically does not start their criminal career by committing murder but most likely begins with less severe crimes. Therefore, by the time an individual commits murder they will have accrued a lengthy criminal record and further penetrated the system.

The rationale for this study was that the further the penetration into the system the less attached that juvenile is regardless of the crime with which they have been charged. It was the penetration into the system which was deemed pertinent to this study regardless of the types of crimes that were being committed. Although the number of crimes committed and therefore the penetration into the juvenile justice system was the focus of this study, to neglect the type of crime committed was recognized may be a potential limitation to this study.

Another limitation of this study may be the difference in gender representation. The vast majority of the participants were male. As stated earlier, in the state of Florida there are currently more males in the juvenile justice system than there are females. It is also true that there are more African-American males in the system than Caucasian males. This trend was reflected in the sample of this study.

Also, the population polled came from small, rural communities. This "rural factor" may have influenced how the subjects responded to the IPPA questionnaire; in a smaller community there may be greater opportunities for attachment and a greater emphasis on attachment than there is in a large metropolitan center.

Another potential methodological limitation may be that other family members were not polled for their responses for potential comparison purposes. This was a study focusing on the adolescents perception of his or her own personal attachment to those around him or her so family member participation was not deemed vital to this study.

Another limitation may be the "demand characteristics" (Borg and Gall, 1989) which provide cues which allow the participant to discern the nature of the research. Demand characteristics may then lead the participant to respond in a particular manner either favorably or unfavorably. In this research effort, demand characteristics were minimized by employing the specific strategies listed: (a) "blind testing procedures" were employed where the administrators did not know how the collected data would be used nor were they aware of the purpose other than research purposes; (b) the administration procedures were standardized (see Appendix A); and (c) the measures were relatively unobtrusive (Borg & Gall, 1989).

Implications for Research

This research effort was most certainly an exploratory foray into the study of attachment particularly in the realm of juvenile delinquency. In terms of future research, it may prove to be important to combine the IPPA questionnaire with other formats of questionnaires to insure a

greater balance. It may be important to use a questionnaire which is not a Likert-type scale in order to overcome the pitfalls of using a Likert-type scale with adolescents. It may also prove beneficial to combine a paper-and-pencil type assessment with a more qualitative style of assessment. What may be gleaned from a qualitative approach may be some of the nuances that are a part of social science research, particularly when attempting to construct with adolescents something potentially as nebulous as the concept of attachment.

Another source of information which was not addressed in this study but may have implications for future research involves polling multiple family members in reference to their perceptions of attachment. This tactic may prove beneficial in providing comparison groups for both adolescent and adult populations to discern how the different age groups view attachment. Utilizing a comparison or control group stratified by age may also prove to highlight any maturational differences in the perception of attachment.

In future research efforts, it may also prove beneficial to create a more diversified sample in terms of the number of charges the participants had against them. If it does hold true that juveniles with only one charge to their credit respond more like the general population, it may be prudent to focus future research efforts on chronic delinquents in order to discern differences in attachment within the population of delinquent adolescents. In other words, what (if any) are the differences in perception of attachment within a population which may be defined as "truly delinquent" or "chronically delinquent" versus a population which is minimally delinquent.

Future research efforts may lead to the development of more stringent testing of the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment questionnaire itself. By expanding the representation in the norm group, the IPPA can be used with more diversified populations so that differences among and between different populations can be delineated. For example, the diversification may permit comparisons along ethnic lines, age groups, gender, socioeconomic class or any combination thereof.

What may also be a factor limiting the usefulness of the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment (Armsden & Greensberg, 1986) is that the phrasing of the questions themselves. It may be that the assessment is evaluating the adolescent's perception of his/her parent's (or parents') behavior and not evaluating whether an attachment exists. For example, question number 1 ("My parents respect my feelings"), question number 4 ("My parents accept me as I am"), question number 8 ("My parents sense when I am upset about something"), and question number 14 ("My parents trust my judgment") may all be difficult to interpret in that an adolescent may interpret the questions to call for the adolescent's perception of parental behavior and not the existence of attachment. The turmoil, confusion and self-absorption characteristic of adolescence may distort their perceptions of other people's behaviors so that their perceptions are not entirely accurate.

Future research may also question the IPPA regarding what it is measuring. Does it measure whether an attachment exists at all or does it measure the intensity of an already existing attachment? If attachment between children and parents wanes during adolescence then how is that fluctuation reflected in the IPPA. Does it measure how attachment is

communicated? If so, then what behaviors constitute attachment behaviors and how can those behaviors be recognized? A more concise research question to investigate may be to address how attachment is communicated between adolescents and their attachment figure(s).

Implications for Theory

The greatest potential implication for social control theory based upon the results of this study is the challenge that there is no difference among adolescents who commit different types of criminal acts. What may be shown in subsequent research when the type of crime committed is taken into account is that there are, in fact, differences among those that perpetrate different types of crimes. For example, an adolescent charged with crimes against people (eg. battery) may be less attached (as assessed by the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment) than an adolescent charged with crimes against property (eg. petit theft). A finding such as that would directly contradict Hirschi and Gottfredson's notion that the type of crime committed is immaterial.

The gender differences unveiled in this study may prove to be fruitful grounds for further formulations for both Bowlby's attachment theory and Hirschi's social control theory. In terms of the attachment theory, there may be further differences delineated between males and females as to how each gender perceives the concept of attachment. Males and females may also view attachment figures differently. If findings in future research remain consistent regarding gender differences, an entirely new discussion may evolve explaining attachment as expressive of different gender perceptions.

By the same token, for Hirschi's social control theory, future studies may reveal that the link of Hirschi's attachment to delinquency demonstrates a similar gender difference. If gender differences are found to be consistent, those results may motivate researchers to investigate more thoroughly the differences between male and female juvenile delinquents. Currently in the field, the greater emphasis for both research and theory is upon male offenders.

Implications for Practice

The apparent gender differences demonstrated in this study may have some impact on how clinicians approach this population. For the male population, the stronger emphasis for this sample appeared to be upon the peer group. In the field of counseling, it may be a more peer like therapeutic stance which may lead to a more expedient and efficient approach to take with the males. If males place a greater degree of importance on peer relationships then it may behoove the counseling professional to utilize that emphasis as an inroad to developing the therapeutic relationship.

An opposing clinical approach with females may be beneficial based upon the results of the gender analysis of this study. If in fact, females place a greater emphasis on parental relationships, then perhaps a less egalitarian stance and a greater "one up" or parental role taken by the clinician would be the best therapeutic approach.

However, each of these therapeutic stances must be tempered by the professional therapist. It may prove ineffective if not foolish to take an extreme position in either situation. If a clinician is perceived by their client to be too much like a friend or too strong a parental role, the

therapist may run the risk of losing clinical leverage with their client. The absolute key it would seem would be to establish and maintain whichever position chosen through being genuine and consistent. The factor of the developmental stage of adolescence should always be kept in mind by the clinician. From a clinical standpoint it would seem to be beneficial to all parties for the therapist to remember that adolescence is most assuredly a time of transition, confusion, and questioning therefore a consistent and genuine therapeutic stance is vital.

Chapter Summary

This research effort was an attempt to delineate a relationship between attachment and juvenile delinquency. The theoretical tenets upon which this study was based presumed that the importance of the concept of attachment related to juvenile delinquency in that those adolescents who had committed criminal acts would be less attached. The results of the statistical analysis were inconclusive in that none of the relationships tested through linear regression were found to be statistically significant. Communication with parents or peers compared to the number of charges was statistically insignificant. Trust of parents and peers when compared to the number of criminal charges was statistically insignificant. Alienation from parents or peers when compared to the number of criminal charges was statistically insignificant. Overall attachment to parents or peers when compared to the number of charges was also statistically insignificant.

This research effort was certainly exploratory and may have succeeded in raising more questions than answering the questions posed. Areas elucidated by this study for potential future research may

be investigating the use of a Likert-type scale with adolescents as well as further investigation of the Inventory of Parent/Peer Attachment questionnaire in terms of ethnic or gender differences.

APPENDIX A
ADMINISTRATION GUIDELINES

ADMINISTRATION GUIDELINES

Packet Content (placed in the order in which they are to be administered): pencil, Jesness Inventory (estimated time of completion - 25 minutes), FACES-III Questionnaire (estimated time of completion - 10 minutes), Demographic Information (estimated time of completion - 5 minutes), IPPA Questionnaire (estimated time of completion - 15 minutes)

Environment - see that the questionnaires are completed by the participant in a loosely supervised environment. Ensure that the participant will not be disturbed but that the administrator can check in on the participant to see that the questionnaires are being completed correctly. It is important to let the subject's know that their answers are confidential and that they only **need to place their first and last Initials on the answer sheets**. The administrator's initials need to be on the demographic information sheet.

Subject's test taking ability - assess the subject's understanding of the questionnaires being given to them. Assess their ability to read them by asking the participant to read aloud the first three questions of the first questionnaire. If they are unable to read the questionnaires there is the option of having someone else read the questionnaires to the participant as long as the reader does not interfere with the participant. For example, it is not necessary for the administrator to watch over the participant's shoulder as they are answering every item. If there is a question by the participant concerning the meaning of an item, the administrator simply rereads the question and asks the participant simply give what they feel is most accurate. Have the participant place their initials on each sheet provided.

Confidentiality - Please let the participant know that the point of filling out these questionnaires is to better serve people who are in the same circumstances which they find themselves. It is vitally important that the participant understand that there will be no way for the Department of Juvenile Justice administrator to discern how the participant has answered. Only their initials will be placed on each answer sheet ensuring confidentiality. The participant must understand that the Department of Juvenile Justice administrator will simply scan the answer sheets upon completion to see that all of the questions have been answered.

Estimated time of completion - The entire packet of questionnaires should take approximately one hour to complete. Because of the length of time required to complete the questionnaires one suggestion would be to ask them to come to their intake interview one hour early to complete the questionnaires and then complete their intake interview. It is recommended to sporadically check in on the participants as they complete the packet.

*Please have participant fill out test packet while in the office to ensure completion of the questionnaires. The packet may be taken home to complete only under dire circumstances.

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT PROTOCOL

Clients were verbally given the following instructions by an agency representative prior to the client completing any paperwork. Clients were not asked to sign any form of documentation. These instructions were administered during the client's initial counseling session at the independent counseling agency.

"Before we go any further there are some questionnaires I'd like you to fill out. They're not tests so there is no right or wrong answer. You simply answer the best you can. Don't put your name on any of the forms, simply put your initials. That way nobody gets to know how you answered, not even your Department of Juvenile Justice casemanager. Your answer sheets will be used for research purposes only and nobody will be able to figure out which answer sheet is yours. This isn't something you have to do but it would be helpful. Is this alright?"

If the client verbally consents the rest of the protocol is followed. If they should deny consent the counseling session then proceeds.

"Thanks for agreeing. We can get this done in one of two ways. Either I can read the questions to your or you can read them yourself. Sometimes it takes less time if I read the questions to you."

At this point, if the client opts to read the questions themselves the counselor is to assess the approximate reading level of the client by

asking them to read the first five (5) questions aloud. If the client can read with relative ease the client is allowed to complete the questionnaires themselves. If the client has difficulty, the counselor may then volunteer to read the questionnaires to the client. If the counselor is to read the questionnaires they are to physically position themselves so as not to be looking directly at the client's answer sheet. The counselor was encouraged by the counseling agency to read the questions themselves to provide better assurance of standardized administration. Upon completion of the questionnaires the counselor collects them placing them to the side for the remainder of their session.

APPENDIX C
INVENTORY OF PARENT PEER ATTACHMENT
(IPPA)

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment

Mark T. Greenberg, Ph.D. and Gay Armsden, Ph.D.

Part I

Some of the following statements asks about your feelings about your parents. Please read each statement and circle the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some- times True/ True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
1. My parents respect my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel my parents are successful as parents.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I wish I had different parents.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My parents accept me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have to rely on myself when I have a problem to solve.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I like to get my parents' point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My parents sense when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Talking over my problems with my parents makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
10. My parents expect too much from me.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I get upset easily at home.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I get upset a lot more than my parents know about.	1	2	3	4	5
13. When we discuss things, my parents consider my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My parents trust my judgment.	1	2	3	4	5

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some- times True/ True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
15. My parents have their own problems, so I don't bother them with mine.	1	2	3	4	5
16. My parents help me to understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I tell my parents about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I feel angry with my parents.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I don't get much attention at home.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My parents encourage me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
21. My parents understand me.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I don't know whom I can depend on these days.	1	2	3	4	5
23. When I am angry about something, my parents try to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I trust my parents.	1	2	3	4	5
25. My parents don't understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I can count on my parents when I need to get something off of my chest.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I feel that no one understands me.	1	2	3	4	5
28. If my parents know something is bothering me, they ask me about it	1	2	3	4	5

Part II

This part asks about your feelings about your relationships with your close friends. Please read each statement and circle the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some- times True/ True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
1. I like to get my friend's point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My friends can tell when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
3. When we discuss things, my friends care about my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Talking over my problems with my friends makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I wish I had different friends.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My friends understand me.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My friends encourage me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My friends accept me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I feel the need to be in touch with my friends more often.	1	2	3	4	5
10. My friends don't understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I feel alone or apart when I am with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
12. My friends listen to what I have to say.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I feel my friends are good friends.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My friends are fairly easy to talk to.	1	2	3	4	5

	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some- times True/ True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
15. When I am angry about something, my friends try to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
16. My friends help me to understand me better.	1	2	3	4	5
17. My friends are concerned about my well being.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I feel angry with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I can count on my friends when I need to get something off my chest.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I trust my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
21. My friends respect my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I get upset a lot more than my friends know about.	1	2	3	4	5
23. It seems as if my friends are irritated with me for no reason.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I tell my friends about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
25. If my friends know about something is bothering me, they ask me about it.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Participant Code (first and last initial): _____

County: _____

Does your family receive public assistance (AFDC/Welfare)? Yes _____

No _____

Gender: _____

Current Age: _____

Ethnic Identity: Black: _____ White: _____ Hispanic: _____

Other: _____

List current family members at home **(no names. list their estimated age on the blank spaces):**

mother _____ step-mother _____ grandmother _____

mom's boyfriend _____

father _____ step-father _____ grandfather _____

dad's girlfriend _____

brothers _____

sisters _____

Other(s) - list how related and estimated age only **(no names):**

STOP HERE !!!!!!! Remainder will be filled out by office personnel

	List of Offenses	Date offense committed	Age at time of offense	committed alone	committed w/ others
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lesley Lucas Nunn was born on January 31, 1964, in St. Petersburg, Florida. She received her Bachelor of Science in psychology from the University of Florida in December of 1986 and was awarded her Master of Education/Specialist degree in education from the University of Florida in April of 1992. She specialized her training in the field of couples and family therapy. She served as the Student Representative for the Florida Association of Marriage and Family Therapy from 1992 through 1996. Clinically her special interest has been working with adolescents and their families. She worked for a social service agency located in Gainesville, Florida, for the five years which worked solely with referrals from the juvenile justice system.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



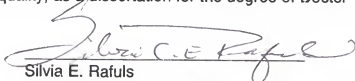
Peter A. D. Sherrard, Chairperson
Associate Professor of Counselor Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Ellen Amatea
Professor of Counselor Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Silvia E. Rafuls
Assistant Professor of Counselor Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Linda Shaw
Associate Professor of Rehabilitation
Counseling

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dean, College of Education

Dean, Graduate School